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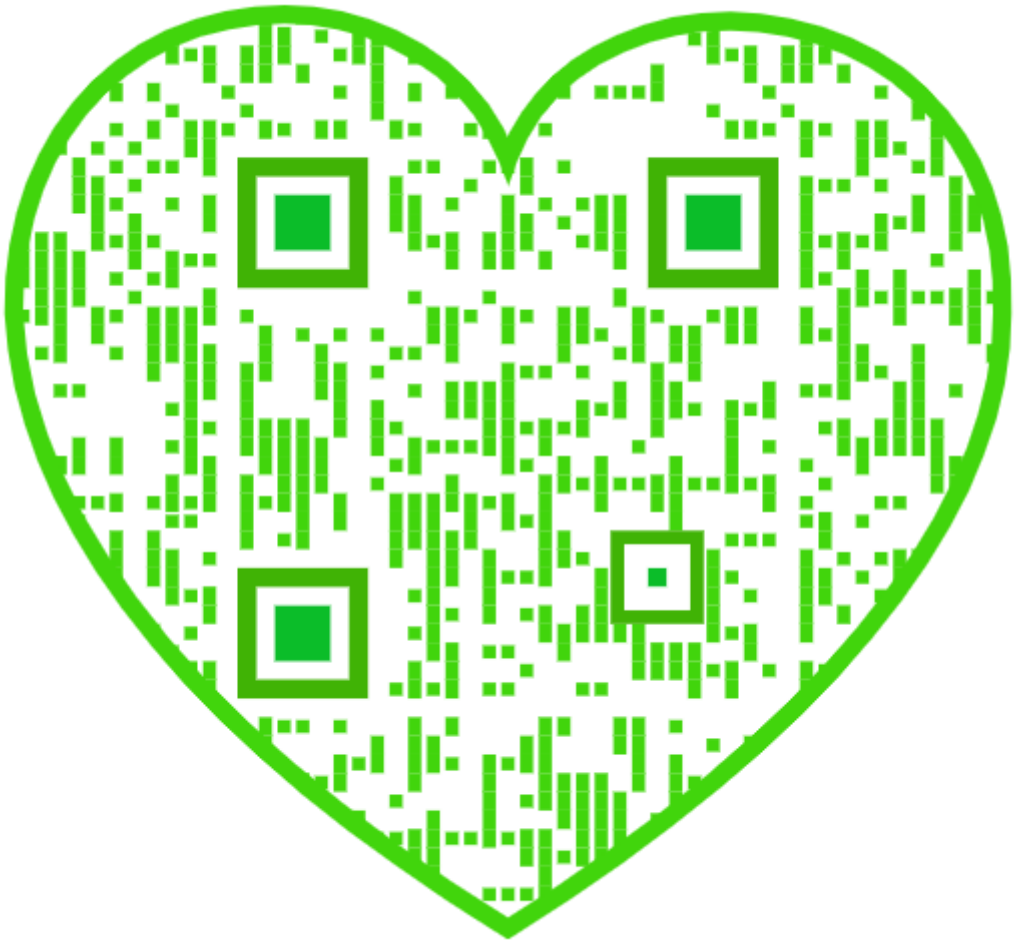

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HISTORICAL NOTICES

OF

ST. ANTHONY'S MONASTERY, LEITH

AND

REHEARSAL OF EVENTS

WHICH OCCURRED IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND FROM 1635 TO 1645 IN RELATION TO THE NATIONAL COVENANT. EDITED FROM A CONTEMPORARY MS.

BY THE

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Historical Notices, &c.

THE patriarch of monks, St. Anthony, is one of the most notable saints in the Romish calendar. He was born A.D. 251, at Coma, or Great Heracleopolis, in Upper Egypt. His parents, who were Christians, kept him at home, fearing that through bad example his manners might be tainted. When he was under twenty his parents died, leaving him and an only sister, as their inheritance, an estate, in extent equal to a hundred and twenty British acres.* Imperfectly instructed in sacred knowledge, Anthony was influenced by a strong religious enthusiasm. Inducing his sister to concur with him, he disposed of their inheritance, in the belief that he was thereby fulfilling the divine command. The money which he received for his land he distributed among the poor, and adopted the life of an ascetic. He did not eat before sunset, and often fasted for two and three days together. He subsisted on bread, salt and water, abstained from washing his body, and clothed himself in a coarse shirt of hair.

For a time Anthony cherished monachism in his native village; he subsequently withdrew to the desert, abandoning human society. In A.D. 285 he crossed the eastern branch of the Nile, and established his abode in the ruin of an old castle on the top of the mountains, where for twenty years he indulged a rigorous seclusion. In A.D. 305 he abandoned his retreat at the request of a number of persons, who, resorting to him for advice, desired to live under his direction. He

* Butler's "Lives of the Saints," Dublin, 1853, i., 73—78.

now founded the monastery of Faium, a group of isolated cells near Memphis and Arsinoe. In the year 311, during the persecution of Maximian, he proceeded to Alexandria to testify his faith, and, if needful, to seal his testimony with his blood. Having escaped martyrdom he returned to his solitude, and penetrating into the desert, found lodgment on a hill about a day's journey from the Red Sea. There he was discovered by admiring disciples, who affectionately solicited his return. Having piously exhorted them, he returned to his seclusion.

Anthony died on the 17th January, 356, at the remarkable age of 104 years. The year before his death he performed a journey to Alexandria, to preach against the Arians. At Alexandria he had interviews with Athanasius, who became his biographer.* Among the temptations of St. Anthony, related by Athanasius, are these:—Satan tried, by bemuddling his thoughts, to divert him from becoming a monk. The arch-enemy next appeared to him in the likeness of a beautiful woman, but without disturbing him. Indignant at defeat, the tempter fell upon him at night with a multitude of fiends, and he was found in the morning apparently dead. The fiends at another time assumed the shapes of wild beasts, and so tortured him, that he experienced severe pain. But he upbraided and taunted them, and while they gnashed their teeth, a light shone into his cell from the roof, on which the devils became speechless.

Before his death St. Anthony was throughout the valley of the Nile celebrated for his religious devotedness. His memoirs, by Athanasius, are commended by Gregory Nazianzen, and also by Chrysostom. A record of his alleged miracles is preserved in the "Acta Sanctorum" of the Bollandists. The 17th of January was, as the day of his death, observed as a festival by the Eastern and Western

* Of the "Life of St. Anthony," by Athanasius, a translation is contained in Whiston's "Collections of Ancient Monuments," 1713, 8vo., pp. 143—196.

churches. He was regarded as patron and protector of the lower animals, especially of swine; and in his pictures is represented as having a pig for his page, probably on account of his having lived on roots in common with the hogs of the desert.

St. Anthony's body was buried in secret by two of his disciples, and the place of his sepulchre was believed to be unknown. But in the year 561, during the reign of Justinian, his body was alleged to be discovered, and having been carried to Alexandria, it was there deposited in the church of St. John the Baptist. In A.D. 635 it was removed to Constantinople, where it remained till the year 1070, when one Joselin, of the House of Poictiers, transported the remains to Vienne, in Dauphiny, where he placed them in the church La Motte S. Didier. In 1089 a kind of erysipelas or contagious leprosy, which visited various districts of Europe, proved especially fatal in the province of Dauphiny. Prayers were offered in the church of La Motte S. Didier, before the relics of St. Anthony, and as the distemper ceased, the result was ascribed to the saint's influence. The distemper was now styled *St. Anthony's fire*, and in the year 1095 the order of Hospitallers of St. Anthony was instituted by Gaston and Girom, two noblemen of Vienne. Pope Boniface VIII. afterwards converted the Benedictine priory at La Motte into an abbey, bestowing on the members the rank of canons regular of St. Austin, and constituting the abbot chief or general of the order.* The monks of St. Anthony wore a cassock, a patience, a plaited cloak, and a black hood, and displayed a tau cross of blue on their left breast.

In compliment to the memory of their patron, the monks of St. Anthony were noted for rearing pigs. According to Suger, in his life of Louis le Gros, quoted by Neander in his life of St. Bernard, Prince Philip, having been killed in 1131, consequent on a hog having in one of the faubourgs of Paris caused him to be thrown from his horse, an edict was issued

* Butler's "Lives of the Saints," ed. 1853, i., 73—78.

prohibiting swine being kept in the streets; but the monks of St. Anthony, offering a remonstrance, were permitted to continue the practice, on the condition of placing a bell round the neck of each pig.

Guyot de Provins, a writer of the thirteenth century, remarks that the pigs of the order brought them 5,000 silver marks yearly, and that there was not a town or castle in France where they were not fed.*

Stow, in his history of London, mentions a custom which in his time prevailed in the London markets. "The officers of this city," he writes, "did divers times take from the market people pigs, starved, or otherwise unwholesome for man's sustenance; these they did slit in the ear. One of the proctors of St. Anthony's Hospital tied a bell about the neck of each, and let it feed upon the dunghills. No one would hurt or take it up; but if any one gave it bread or other feeding, such it would know, watch for, and daily follow, whining till it had something given it; whereupon was raised a proverb,—such a one will follow such a one, and whine as if it were an Anthony pig."

The rites of St. Anthony are still observed in Catholic countries. At Rome, on St. Anthony's Day, a religious service, called the benediction of beasts, is performed yearly in a church dedicated to the saint near Santa Maria Maggiore. The ceremony continues several days, all having animals sending them to obtain the pontifical blessing at St. Anthony's shrine. A similar custom prevails at Madrid and other places.

Prior to the Reformation, the friars of St. Anthony went about begging, and threatened to inflict the "sacred fire," or erysipelas, upon those who refused their demands. To avoid the hazard, superstitious persons presented them with a fat hog annually. Pope Paul III., at the entreaty of certain ecclesiastics, sought to abolish this system of importunity, but the abuse continued. St. Anthony was represented in pic-

* Gordon's "Monasticon," pp. 282, 283.

tures with a fire kindled at his side, to indicate his power in delivering from the "sacred fire." In Italy the peasantry and others believed that he preserved houses from taking fire, and so invoked his aid in preserving their dwellings.*

The monastery of St. Anthony at Leith was the only house belonging to the order in Scotland. It stood near the present parish church of South Leith, on the west side of the alley known as St. Anthony's wynd, and was there erected in 1430 by Sir Robert Logan, of Restalrig, and confirmed in the same year by Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews.†

At first the members did not live very peaceably together, as appears from a charter of Humbertus, general of the order at Vienne.‡ To the institution various churches were annexed; one of which, the church of Liston, was claimed by the chapter of St. Andrews. A hot dispute arose, which was terminated by Michael Gray, the Preceptor of the monastery, executing a deed renouncing possession of the church in favour of the chapter of St. Andrews. The instrument of renunciation is in these terms :—

"Nos frater Michael Gray preceptor domus hospitalis Almi confessoris beati Antonii prope villam de Leith Sancti Andree diocesis procurator a venerabili patre domino Abbate Vienensi, sui cum consensu capituli generalis dicti loci et omnium sibi pertinentium infra Regum Scotie specialiter deputatus ex certis et evidentibus causis animum nostrum ad hoc commoventibus de consensu comfratrum nostrorum loci nostri suprascripti matura deliberatione prehabita vnioni et annexationi ecclesie parochialis de Lyston nobis et nostro loco prelibato per sanctissimum in Christo patrem et dominum nostrum dominum Eugenium papam quartum graciose factis et concessis juri liti et cause et omnibus inde secutis tenore presentium integre renunciamus. In cujus rei testimonium hanc nostram presentem

* Emillianne's "Monastic Orders," p. 127.

† Fundatio prima eiusdem capelle Sancti Anthonii per Robertum Logan de Restalrig et ab eodem Henrico (Wardlaw) Episcopo (Sancti Andree) confirmata 1430.—MS. in Advocates' Library, 34, 3, 12, fol. 11.

‡ Spottiswoode's "Religious Houses," p. 243.

renunciationem manu nostra propria scripsimus et pro majori rei evidencia sigillo nostro communi sigillanimus in capitulo ecclesie cathedralis sancti Andree et presentia totius capituli decimo octavo die mensis Martii anno Domini millesimo CCCC^{mc} xlv^{to}.*

TRANSLATION.

We, brother Michael Gray, Preceptor of the house of the hospital of the holy confessor Saint Anthony, near the town of Leith, in the Diocese of St. Andrews, Procurator specially deputed by a venerable father the Lord Abbot of Vienne, with consent of his General Chapter of the said place, and of all belonging to it within the kingdom of Scotland, from certain and evident causes moving our mind to that effect, and with consent of our *confrères* of our place above written; after mature deliberation, have by the tenor of these presents wholly renounced the union and annexation of the parish church of Lyston, graciously made and granted to us and our place foresaid by the most holy father in Christ, and our lord, Pope Eugenius Fourth, with plea of law and all that may follow thereon: In witness whereof, we have written this our present renunciation with our own hand, and for greater evidence of the fact have sealed (it) with our common seal, in the chapter of the cathedral church of St. Andrews, and in presence of the whole chapter, the 18th day of March, 1445.

In 1446, James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, confirmed to the institution the parish church of Hailes, in Haddingtonshire, which had belonged to the monks of Holyrood. In 1482, Sir Alexander Haliday, as preceptor of the monastery, was heard before the auditors in Parliament respecting the teinds, rents, and other rights of the church of Hailes.

To the preceptor and canons of the monastery, William Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland, granted in 1448 the lands of Abbeyhill, near Edinburgh.† In 1488, a chaplaincy in connection with the monastery was founded by Thomas Turing, a burgess of Edinburgh, for the maintenance of which

* Original Charter, Advocates' Library, 15, 1, 18 fol. 19, No. 35.
† Edinb. Com., Reg., iii. 55.

he granted lands at Leith to the value of ten pounds yearly. The grant was confirmed by James IV. on the 17th January, 1488-9.

In addition to their ordinary revenues the canons were entitled to a Scottish quart out of every tun of wine received at Leith. In concert with the magistrates and corporation of Edinburgh, they regulated the distribution of wine received at the port. On the 18th October, 1520, the Town Council of Edinburgh framed the following regulations, named in the register, "Statuta Vini:"—

"The quhilk day, it is statute and ordanit be the provest baillies counsale and confraternitie of Sanct Anthone that James Prestoun Jhone Adamesoun younger, Andro Dicksoun, Thomas Cuke, with the maister of the facultie, pas fra this tyme furth quhare ony strangear cummis with wyne of their awin aventur and by the haill hoip of the same wynes, or samekle as plesis thame, and mak competent price thairof, and that the samyn wyne be ewinlie dividit and delt amangis the haill confraternitie and tavernaris of this toun of the samyn price as beis maid first be thame, efter the forme of their auld actis, and quhen the saidis strangearis makis thair said entres of the saidis wynis in the townis buikes, that the personis aboue written forgather with the saidis strangearis and mak the price of thair said wyne within this town of Edinburgh and nocht in Leith; and that nane of the tavernaris wyffis, nor wemen seruandis, pas to Leith in tyme to cum till waill, sey, or by ony wynis, under the pane of the vnlaw contenit in the auld actis maid thairvpoun of befoir; and thir personis aboue written till haue for thair labouris viij. d. of ilk towne wyne, and ordanis that all the nychtbouris and tavernaris that hes brocht vp ony wyne fra Leith of their last schippis vnmaid and tabillit as said is, that the samyn be had done agane to Leith incontinent, thair to be tabillit amangis the laif of the wyne ewinlie delt amangis the saidis confraternitie and tavernaris as is aboue written, vnder the pane contenit in the auld actis of Sanct Anthone."†

William Morton was appointed preceptor of St. Anthony's on the 19th February, 1492. Alexander Crawfurd was

* Town Council Records of Edinburgh. † *Ibid.*

preceptor in 1510; and on the 3rd August, 1513, Pope Leo X. issued a bull, confirming to Richard Thomson, one of the canons, the office of sacristan* of the house, to which he had been nominated by the prior and chapter. In this bull, Pope Leo enjoins that the prior shall grant to the said Richard Thomson the yearly salary of fifty marks Scots for life, the same to be paid either to himself, or to collectors appointed by him, out of the returns of orchard fruit and other revenues of the house. The Pope further granted him the value of an Alexandrian talent,† with emoluments arising from the granting of dispensations, also special power to absolve "from excommunication, suspension, interdict, or other censure, penalty, or sentence of the Church, any man whatever for sins both ordinary and extraordinary." Should his salary be unpaid for thirty days after becoming due, the Pope stipulated that the prior and chapter should be deprived of water till the debt was discharged; and should six months further elapse without payment, that the prior should suffer deprivation. The Pope insisted finally that if the commands of the holy see were not fully obeyed, the prior and chapter should be wholly debarred from indulgences, no man having power to grant them absolution, and even the prayers of the apostles Peter and Paul not availing on their behalf.

Friar Thomson was subsequently promoted as preceptor of the monastery. He is styled "Sir Richard Thomson, Preceptor of St. Anton," in a sasine granted by him on the 5th December, 1519, to John Innes and his spouse, Margaret Lundie.

Mr. Matthew Forrester is designated "Preceptor of St Anton's" in a sasine granted to him in 1552 by the magistrates of Edinburgh, of an annual rent of five marks, payable out of a tenement situated at Bass Wynd.

* The sacristan had charge of the sacred utensils and vestments, and was bound to protect the churchyard from the intrusion of animals: he possessed the sole privilege of sleeping in the church.

† A sum of very indefinite value.

In the Inventory of Deeds, belonging to the Trinity House at Leith, is enumerated—"ane charter granted be Matthew Forrester, in favour of the foresaide mariners of Leith, of the said lande on ye hospital bankes, and for undercallit ye groundes lying in Leith ; . . . also said yard.—Dated 26 Julii, 1567. Sealit and subscrivit be the said Mat. Forrester, Prebendar of S. Antoine, near Leith."

The monks of St. Anthony seem to have been equally obnoxious to the Reformers, as were the members of other monastic orders. In his "Satire of the Three Estates" Sir David Lyndsay puts these lines into the mouth of "the Pardoner,"—

"The gruntill of Sanct Antonis sow,
Quhilk buir his haly bell;
Quha ever he be heiris this bell clinck,
Gif me ane ducat for till drink,
He sall never gang to hell,
Without he be of Beliell borne;
Maisters, trow ye that this be scorne!
Cum win this Pardonn, cum."

In Bagimont's Roll, in the reign of James V., St. Anthony's monastery was taxed at £6 13s. 4d.; the income was at the Reformation valued at £211 15s. 6d. At the Reformation the revenues were partially bestowed on the town council of Leith. On the 10th June, 1572, James VI., with consent of the Regent Mar, granted to the town council "all lands, tenements, grants, and annual rents belonging to any chaplainries founded within any kirk, chapell, or college within the town of Leith." In 1592 the monastery was finally dissolved, and Mr. John Hay, clerk of session, received a royal grant of "the preceptory of St. Anton's" and "site thereof," including four acres of land, with the parsonage teinds of the lands of Redhalls, Collintoun, Oxengains, and half the lands of Cornistown, and the vicarage of the parish of Hailes, and of other annual rents which had belonged to

the institution. Of this grant a feu-farm was, by Mr. John Hay, conveyed to his brother Daniel, and Margaret Purdie, his wife, on the 5th March of the same year, and on the 26th February, 1593, the grant was confirmed.

On the 10th August, 1596, Mr. John Hay and his brother Daniel resigned their lands into the hands of the king in favour of the Kirk-session of Leith for behoof of an hospital which was designated as King James's. At the same time, and for the like purpose, the town council of Leith resigned in favour of the Kirk-session their portion of the lands. These resignations were followed by a charter under the great seal, dated 23rd September, 1796, conveying the entire lands and revenues of the monastery to the Kirk-session.

By the Kirk-session of Leith the lands of St. Anthony's Yard were in February, 1606, conveyed in feu-farm to Mr. Jeremiah Lindsay, of Dinyne; the wine privilege being commuted in a payment of money. On the 19th November, 1638, the Kirk-session records contain the following entry:—"The sessioune has ordainit the wyne vintners in Leith to paye thair imposts of the wyne to oure sessioune, or otherwise to be convenit befoir the kirkis; and then they sall pay thair imposts as we ordain."

The wine impost became a part of the ordinary parish revenues, and under sanction of the Kirk-session, an official styled the *Baron Bailie of St. Anthony* exercised a considerable jurisdiction at the ports of Leith and Newhaven; he held court at will, and gave judgment without appeal. The office continued till 1833, when it was abrogated by the Burgh Reform Act. The last Baron Bailie of St. Anthony's was Thomas Barker.*

On the tower of the monastery French artillery was placed during the conflict of 1560. At the siege of Leith, in 1569, the church was partially demolished; it was adopted as King James's Hospital in 1614. A portion of the struc-

* Gordon's "Monasticon," pp. 283-4.

ture which remains, consisting of the doorways and part of an arch, is represented in the accompanying engraving.

REMAINS OF ST. ANTHONY'S MONASTERY.

On the common seal of the monastery St. Anthony appeared under a canopy in a hermit's gown, and having at his right foot a wild pig with a bell on its neck. On the circumfer-

ST. ANTHONY'S SEAL.

ence was the legend *S. Commune Preceptorie Sancti Anthonii prope Lecht.* The seal, which is preserved in the

Advocates Library, is represented in the accompanying engraving.

Associated with the monastery were a chapel and hermitage in the King's Park, Edinburgh. Resting on the summit of a crag to the north of Arthur's Seat, and overlooking St. Margaret's Loch, the ruin of St. Anthony's Chapel is still a conspicuous object. By Maitland, in his "History of Edinburgh,"* it is thus described :—

"It is in length 43½ feet, in breadth 18 feet, and the same in height. At the west end is a tower 19 feet square, but of what height at first I cannot ascertain, though by the form of what is standing I take to have been about 40 feet. The area of the chapel is in length 32 feet, and the breadth of 12 feet, and height of 14 feet. It has two arched doorways, and two windows on each side of the same form, with a handsome Gothic roof of three compartments. In the southern wall, near the altar, is a small arched niche, wherein was put the holy water, and another opposite of large dimensions, which was strongly fortified for keeping the pix with the consecrated bread. Beside, by the door and arch on the inside, I imagine there must have been an outing from the west; and the room over the said arch I take to have been the vestiary, ascended to by a ladder and a few steps above the said arch. And without, in the wall at the eastern end, was a handsome stone seat. The chapel appears to have been enclosed with a stone wall, extending from the western precipice of the hill, along the southern side and eastern end, to the northern precipice of the hill."

About twenty-seven feet south-west from the chapel are situated the remains of St. Anthony's hermitage, which Maitland has thus described :—

"It is of the length of 16 feet 8 inches, 12 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 11 feet in height. The eastern end and south-eastern corner are built on the rock, which rises within 2 feet of the roof or stone arch which covers it; it appears to have had two doors near the south-western and north-eastern corners, of the height of 5 feet, and width of 2 feet, without the least appearance of a window, though probably there was in the western end, but demolished with the gable, and in the inside of the eastern end, two bolles or cupboards."

* Maitland's "History of Edinburgh," pp. 152, 3.

Referring to St. Anthony's hermitage, Amot, in his "History of Edinburgh,"* remarks eloquently; "Sequestered from the rest of mankind, these holy hermits might there dedicate their lives to devotion. The barrenness of the rock might teach them humility and mortification, the lofty site and extensive prospect would dispose the mind to contemplation, and looking down upon the royal palace beneath,† they might compare the tranquillity of their own situation, preparing their minds for that scene of everlasting serenity which they expected hereafter, with the storms which assailed the court amidst a tumultuous and barbarous people."

At the base of the eminence which supports the hermitage and chapel is the well of St. Margaret, anciently reputed for its healing virtues. Probably the celebrity of the fountain suggested the construction of those sacred edifices. In the lament of Lady Barbara Erskine for the cruel desertion of her lord, James, Marquis of Douglas,‡ the well is noticed in these lines :—

> "St. Anton's well shall be my drink
> Since my true love has forsaken me."

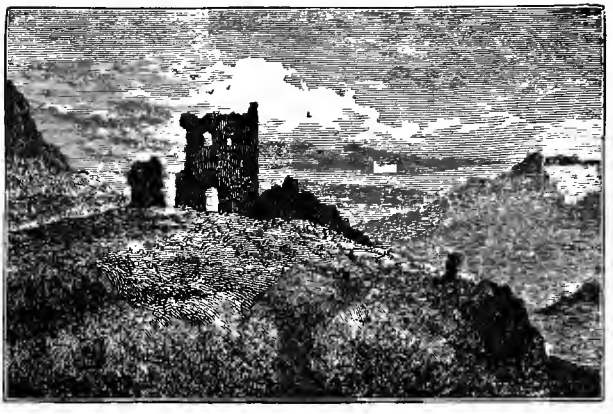
From their elevated hermitage or chapel the brethren of St. Anthony could discover the ships of commerce entering the port of Leith, and could hail and bless the mariners' return, expecting to receive in acknowledgment a share of those secular gifts which generous seamen love to bestow on those interested in their affairs. In the engraving on the next page is represented the chapel of St. Anthony in its present aspect.

In the Advocates' Library is preserved a thin octavo volume in vellum, of twenty-one leaves, entitled "The Rental Buke of Sanct Anthoni's and Newhaven." It contains no entries relating to the secular property of the monastery; but

* Amot's "History of Edinburgh," p. 256.

† The Palace of Holyrood.

‡ The pathetic song from which these lines are quoted, beginning "O waly waly," belongs to the reign of Charles II.



ST. ANTHONY'S CHAPEL.

presents certain forms of prayer, and other instruments relating to its spiritual concerns and ordinary administration. The following prayer is at the commencement of the volume inscribed on parchment :—

"Suscipiat vos omnipotens pater vnigenitusque dei filius sanctusque spiritus precibus beate Marie semper virginis gloriosi patroni nostri et totius curie celestis exercitus omniumque sanctorum apostelorum martyrorum confessorum atque virginum et omnium electorum suorum qui sibi placuerunt ab initio mundi; et dirigat actus vestros in bene placito sue voluntatis concedatque vobis gratiam bene vivendi, vitam corrigendi, et in bonis operibus vsque in finem perseverandi. Et nos licet indigni concedamus vobis in vita pariter et in morte participationem omnium missarum omnium orationum omnium suffragiorum bonorumque ceterorum spiritualium que in nostris collegiis fiunt et per ordinem nostrum in totius mundi partibus domino concedente fient in futurum et sicut hodie caritas fraternitatis vos vel vobis conjungit in terris ita ineffabiliter Dei pietas vos vel vobis conjungere dignetur in coelis qui cum Deo Patre et Sancto Spiritu."

TRANSLATION.

May the Almighty Father, and the only begotten Son of God, and the Holy Spirit, hear you, through the prayers of the ever-blessed Virgin Mary, our glorious patron, and the whole host of the heavenly courts, and all the holy apostles, martyrs, confessors of the faith, virgins, and all His elect, whom He has from the beginning of the world chosen to Himself. May He direct your actions according to the good pleasure of His will; and grant unto you grace to live honestly, amending your lives and continuing in good works to the end. It is permitted to us to grant you power over the spiritual life and death of the wicked; and a share in all the masses, prayers, and supplications of the good; and in all other religious duties performed in the institutions of our order; and which in all time coming shall be performed, God willing, in all parts of the world. And as to-day brotherly love unites you on earth, so may the discharge of your spiritual duties toward God render you worthy to be united in heaven to Him, who with God the Father and the Holy Spirit . . . [is to be worshipped and glorified].

"Sequitur Litera Confraternitatis.

"Complures summi pontifices et novissimo sanctissimus dominus noster dominus Clemens papa modernus indulcerint et confirmaverint omnibus vtriusque sexus confratribus seu consororibus confraternitatis Sancti Anthonii abbatis vt eligere possint idoneum confessorem secularem vel cujusvis ordinis regularem qui eos in casibus sedi apostolice non reservatis bis singulis annis in vita absolvere penitenciam salutatem injungere votaque cumque majoribus exceptis in alia pietatis opera committere. Et in reservatis sedi apostolice casibus semel in capite anni vel infra annum eundem et toties quoties in mortis articulo absolutionem plenariam cum assuetione quatuor millium sexcentorum et sexaginta annorum indulgentiarum singulis annis in vita ac participatione omnium stationum sancte romane ecclesie peregrinationum et omnium suffragiorum militantis ecclesie et quod ipsi confratres nisi nominatim fuerunt excommunicati aut publici vsurarii in locis interdictis sepeliri omniaque officia divina in eisdem locis januis apertis campanis pulsatis die

obitus eorum ob reverentiam sancti Anthonii licite celebrare valeant.

"Ea propter nos Ricardum Thomsoun preceptorem preceptorie sancti Anthonii de Leith; attendentem devotionem erga nostram religionem et quia de bonis suis sicut premissum est in supportationem domus nostre contribuerint merito confraternitati nostre ascribi prefatis privilegiis gaudere presencium tenore declaramus. Datum sub sigillo confraternitatis nostre die mensis.

"Anno domini m° v^e vicesimo sexto."

TRANSLATION.

[Be it known to all hereby that] . . . many most reverend princes of the Church, and recently, our present Most Reverend Lord Pope Clement, have granted and confirmed to all the members of either sex, brethren or sisters, of the community of the Abbey of St. Anthony, power to elect a fit confessor, either secular or professed member of any order whatever, who, in all cases not specially reserved to the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See, might twice a year have power to grant absolution; to exhort to repentance and salutary vows, and, the more important cases excepted, to engage in other pious works. And in cases reserved to the Apostolic See, once at the commencement of the year, or within the year, and as often as any are at the point of death, grant full absolution, according to the custom of 4,660 years, and grant yearly during life a share in the indulgences and all the feasts and pilgrimages of the Holy Roman Church, and in all the prayers of the church militant. Moreover, that the brethren themselves, unless excommunicated by name, or public usurers, should not be buried in forbidden ground; and that they be empowered to perform all their religious duties in these same places, with open gates and tolling of bells, on the day of their death, in honour of St. Anthony.

Wherefore we, by these presents, do declare that Richard Thomson, Prior of the Priory of St. Anthony at Leith, rejoices in the privileges aforementioned, as one who has displayed zeal for our religion in so much as he has contributed of his goods as is permitted to the support of our house; and that he is deservedly enrolled as a member of our community.

Given under the seal of our fraternity on the day of the month of , in the year A.D. 1526.

"Sequitur forma absolucionis.

"Dominus noster Iesus Christus pro sua magna pietate et sua acerbissima passione cui proprium est absolvere te vel vos absolvat. Et ego te absolvo auctoritate mihi concessa de omnibus peccatis tuis concessis contritis et oblitis et de iis etiam pro quibus sedis apostolica merito esset consuluenda. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

"Jesus maria."

TRANSLATION.

FORM OF ABSOLUTION.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, out of His great love, and for the sake of His bitter sufferings, to whom of right it belongs to absolve sins, absolve thee (or ye); and I, in virtue of the power granted to me, absolve thee from all thy sins confessed; repented and forgotten; and from those sins also concerning which the Apostolic See should be properly consulted. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

"Ad faciendum aquam benedictam pro animalibus.

"Adductorium nostrum in nomine domini qui fecit coelum et terram.

"Exorciso te, creature salis, per Deum vivum per deum verum per deum sanctum, per deum totius creature vt officiaris sel exorcisatum in salutem animalium ad evacuandum et expellendum inimicum omnem virtutem putredinis et morbum animalium sive pecorum que necessitatibus humanis donare dignatus es vt possint salva ad vsus nostros perficere domini nostri Jesu Christi per quem creata sunt et perficiuntur vniversa secula per ignem. Amen."

TRANSLATION.

For making holy water for animals.—Our aid is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.

I exorcise thee, creature of salt, by the living God, by the true God, by the holy God, by the God of all created things, that thou mayest become exorcised salt for the preservatlon of animals, for the

evacuation and expulsion of every hurtful germ of corruption and disease, in animals, or in the cattle Thou hast deigned to give to human necessity, to the end that these may become healthy for our use. (In the name) of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the whole universe was created, and is perfected through fire. Amen.

"Sequitur exorzisimus aque

"Exorciso te, creature aque, in nomine Dei patris omnipotentis et in nomine Jesu Christi filii ejus et in virtutem Spiritus Sancti vt omnis immundus spiritus et incursus sathane separetur et expellatur a tenebris aque; exorcisata ad purgandum omnem morbum animalium atque omne fantasma inimici et ipsum inimicum eradicare et explantare valeas per virtutem domini nostri Jesu Christi perquem creata sunt et perficientur vniversa secula per ignem. Amen.

"Hic ponatur salis in aqua.

"Hæc commixtio salis et aque per virtutem domini nostri Jesu Christi animalibus salubritas fiat. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.

"Vox domini super aquas deus maiestatis intonuit, dominus super aquas multas. Homines et jumenta salus domine quemadmodum multiplicasti maiestatem tuam deus vere. Aperies tu manum tuam et imples omne animal benedictione Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus.

"Deus Invisibilis et Inestimabilis per cuncta tua pietas diffusa est; per sanctum nomen tuum supplices deprecamur vt huic creature salis et aque ✠ benedictionem et pietatem tuum invisibili operatione infundas vt animalia que necessitatibus humanis dignatus es largiri cum ex eadem *acciperint* vel aspersa fuerint haec ✠ benedictio et sanctificacio redant illesa. Amen.

"Benedictus Deus qui dat omnibus affluenter et non improperat. Servo totam contulit graciam vt et sanitatem restauraret et spiritibus imperaret immundis. Ora pro nobis beate pater vt dominus esset protector. Oremus.

"Deus qui concedis obtentui beati Anthonii confessoris tui atque Abbatis morbidum ignem extingui et membris refri-

geria praestari, fac nos propitius ipsius meritis et precibus, a Gehenne ignis incendiis liberatos integros mente et corpore tibi feliciter in gloria presentari. Per dominum nostrum Christum."

TRANSLATION.

The Exorcism of Water.

I exorcise thee, creature of water, in the name of God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ His Son, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, that every unclean spirit and Satanic influence may be separated and expelled from the depths of the water; that being thus exorcised, thou mightest have power to purge away every disease of animals, and wholly expel and eradicate every apparition of the fiend, and the fiend himself, by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the whole universe was created and perfected through fire. Amen.

Here let the salt be put into the water.

May this intermixture of salt and water become healthful to animals, by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

The voice of the Lord is upon the waters; the God of glory thundereth, the Lord is upon many waters.—Psa. xxix. 3.

Thou, O Lord, art the safety of men and of beasts, so that Thou, the true God, dost greatly multiply Thy glory. Thou shalt open Thy hand, and shalt satisfy every thing living with Thy blessing. The Lord be with thee, and with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

O God, invisible and incomprehensible, Thy love is everywhere diffused. We humbly beseech Thee, for Thy name's sake, that Thou wouldst bestow Thy blessing ✠ and favour by invisible agency on this creature of salt and water, so that when the animals, which Thou hast freely given to human need, shall receive of the same, or be sprinkled therewith, this blessing ✠ and consecration may restore them to soundness. Amen.

Blessed (be) God, who giveth unto all abundantly and hasteneth not (to mark iniquity), He hath bestowed His grace on His servant, that He might restore health and have command over unclean spirits. Pray for us, O Blessed Father, that the Lord may be our protector.

Let us pray.

O God, who didst grant, at the prayer of the blessed Anthony, Thy servant and abbot, that the fire of fever should be extinguished, and coolness restored to the limbs, mercifully grant that we by his merits and prayers may be delivered from the flaming fires of hell, and happily presented to Thee whole and safe in body and in mind, in glory. For the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Receptio Confratrum et Consororum.

"Primo, oportet quod pateant istam confraternitatem amore Dei beate Marie et beati Anthonii.

"Secundo, oportet quod sint obligati pro fidelitate ordinis sic quod nunquam deberent scire neque audire malum quod revelarent et quod custodirent secreta revelata eis.

"Tertio, quod orarent pro fratribus et sororibus secundum quod ipsi tenentur pro eis orare.

"Quarto, quod sint dispositi dare omni anno elemosinam suam, tenentur. Et in vltimis diebus qui credent mori si contingat eis addicere pro suffragiis fiendis quod citius nobis darent quam aliis propter quod sumus quotidie obligati pro eiis orare. Et mittent nobis diem obitus suorum vt poterimus dare placebo et dirigere cum missa de requie. Ad ista tenentur obligari quae sunt suprascripta."

TRANSLATION.

FORM OF RECEPTION OF BRETHREN OR SISTERS.

Firstly.—It is expedient that they enter this community from love of God, the blessed Virgin, and the blessed Anthony.

Secondly.—It is expedient that they be bound by an oath of fidelity to the order; so that they should never know or hear any evil thing to reveal it; but should keep inviolable all secrets revealed to them.

Thirdly.—That they should pray for the brethren and sisters, according as they are, by vow, bound to pray for them.

Fourthly.—That they be bound to give yearly in charity what they may be willing (to bestow).—That any who, being at the close of life and believing themselves dying, bequeath anything for prayers

to be offered for them, should give it more readily to us than to others, as we are bound to pray for them *daily*. And that notice be given on the day of their death, so that we might repeat a "Placebo," and conduct their funeral rites with a mass. That they be bound to observe what is written above.

"Ista sunt retributiones quas haberent qui confraternezantur in ordine sancti Anthonii.

"Primo propter meritum fraternitatis quam cito sunt fratres, vel sorores habent mille annos indulgentiarum. Secundo habebunt partem omnium missarum celebratarum in toto ordine sic quod omnes alii religiosi tenentur pro eis sicut et nos ipsi et eiis. . Item si contingat ecclesiam vel semitorium eorum interdici ratione fraternitatis omnia sacramenta ecclesiastica ministrabuntur; hoc est dictu ecclesie aperiantur et campane pulsentur et sepulture tradentur eiis. Item septem partem de penitenciis vobis injunctis erunt dimissi, offensio patrum et matrum in violentia iniectam manum sibi. Item dies jejuniorum et festinitatum male conservatorum erunt dimissi, &c. Item semel in vita et toties quoties in articulo mortis habeant potestatem plenariam papale elegendum confessorem ad confitendum de omnibus peccatis eorum. Item sint participatores omnium orationum jejuniorum, vniversaliorum suffragiorum, et stationum dedicationum ecclesiorum meritorum romanorum et indulgeniiarum earundem, &c."

TRANSLATION.

These are the *Rewards* which they shall enjoy who become brethren of the order of St. Anthony.

Firstly.—Because of the merits of the brotherhood, they who are presently brethren or sisters have a thousand years' indulgence.

Secondly.—They shall have a share in all the prayers offered by the whole order; and likewise that all other brethren be bound to pray for them, as we for others. Moreover, should it happen that their church or sanctuary be put under the ban, in respect to the brethren, all the rites of the church shall be duly administered; that is to say, the churches shall be opened (for them); the bells tolled, and burial granted to them. Likewise, of the penitential offerings prescribed, a

seventh part shall be remitted to you; (to wit,) offences against parents, for laying violent hands on one's self (suicide), and for breaking the fast days and feast days appointed by the church; likewise, also, once during life, and as often at the point of death, (the members of the fraternity) shall enjoy plenary power from the Pope to elect a confessor, for the purpose of confessing all their sins. Moreover, also, they shall be partakers in all the sermons, fasts, and offerings everywhere, in general confessions (stationes), dedications of churches, and all advantages and indulgences of the Catholic Church.

"*Officium Confraternitatis.*

"Suscipimus Deus majestatem tuam in medio templi tui secundum majestatem tuam deus sit et laus tua in finis terre Justitiae plena est dextera tua. Psalmus, Misere mei deus; psalmus, Magnus dominus; psalmus, ecce quam bonum; Kirieleysoun Christe eleysoun, Kirieleysoun Pater noster. Et ne nos. Oremus Deum.

"Ista fraternitas sit acceptabilis deo beate Marie virgine et beato Anthonio. Salvum fac servum tuum et servos tuos, deus meus, sperantes in te Mitte eiis, domine, auxilium de sancto et de Syon tuere eiis, Nihil proficiat inimicus in eiis et filius iniquitatis non nocere eiis. Domine exaudi orationem meam; et clamor meus ad te veniat. Oremus.

"Suscipiat vos deus pater in numero fidelium suorum scilicet indigni suscipimus te vel vos in orationibus nostris; et concedat vobis gratiam bene vivendi et justiciam bene perseverendi et sicut nos hodie caritas fraternitatis conjungere in terris ita divina pietas nos conjungere dignetur in cœlis per Christum dominum.

"Deus qui concedisti, obtentui beati Anthonii (vt supra) [*hic iniunctis manibus eorum dicetur eis*] Suscipimus te in fratrem et damus tibi nostram societatem; facimus te participem in omnibus oracionibus bonis operibus et suffragiis nostris in eternum. [*Et tunc osculentur in finc.*] Oremus."

TRANSLATION.

THE OFFICES AND DUTIES OF THE FRATERNITY,

OR FORM OF WORSHIP.

We worship Thy glorious name, O God, in the midst of Thy temple. According to Thy majesty, O God, let Thy praise be in the ends of the earth. Thy right hand is full of justice.

The Psalm—"Have mercy upon me, O God" (Miserere mei Deus, li.).

" " "Great is the Lord," &c. (Magnus Dominus, xlviii.).

" " "Behold, how good," &c. (Ecce quam bonum, cxxxiii.).

"Kyrie eleison"—(Lord, be merciful), "Christe eleison"—(Christ, have mercy), "Kyrie eleison"—(Lord, be merciful).

"Pater noster"—(Our Father).

The Psalm—"Not unto us," &c. (Et ne nos, cxv.).

Let us pray to God.

That this fraternity be acceptable to God, to the blessed Virgin Mary, and to the blessed Anthony. Save Thy servant, and Thy servants, O God, who put their trust in Thee. Send them help from out Thy sanctuary, O Lord, and protection from Zion. Let not the enemy prevail against them, nor the son of iniquity hurt them. O Lord, hear my prayer, and let my cry ascend to Thee.

Let us pray.

May God the Father receive you into the number of His faithful, as we, though unworthy, receive you into our prayers; and may He grant you grace to live righteously, and persevere in well-doing, and as to-day brotherly love unites us on earth, so may divine love unite us hereafter in heaven, through Christ our Lord.

O God, who didst grant the humble entreaty of the blessed Anthony (as before).

Then follows this, spoken at the laying on of hands.

We receive thee as a brother, and admit thee to our society, and make thee partaker on all occasions in our good works and prayers for ever.

Then finally they shall give him the kiss of peace.

Let us pray.

Jt is statuet and ordanit in our scheptour for sindri resonabil causis that the saulis of thaim that has gevin zeirlie perpetuall rent to this abbay and hospitall of Sanct Antonis besyd Leith or has augmentit Goddis seruice be fundacion, or ony vther vays has gevyn substanciously of thair gudis to the byggyn reparacion and vphaldyng of the forsaid Abbay and place, that thai be prayit for ylk Sunday till the day of dome. And in speciall oppynly thar namys expremyt als weil the quhik as the deid. That mair abundantly thai may resaif the suffragyis prayer and power of the ordour with the Indulgens prayer and pardonys grantit and gevyn be the sege of Rome at the reverence of God Almychty, the glorious Virgyn and of our holy Fader and patron Sanct Anthon.

[Then follows a list of the principal benefactors of the Monastery for whom masses were to be offered. The list is as under:—]

In the fyrst for Kyng James, ye first and Quhen Jane, his spous yair predecessouris and successourys. *

For James Kennedy, bischop of Sanct Andros, his predecessourys and successouris.†

For Schir Robert Logan, of Restalrig,‡ knycht, our fowndour, and dame Katryne, his spous, thar predecessouris and successouris.

* James I. of Scotland was born in 1394, and after a captivity of nineteen years in England, commenced his actual reign in 1424. He was murdered on the 20th February, 1437. He married the Lady Joanna Beaufort, daughter of the Duke of Somerset. The monastery of St. Anthony was founded under the sanction of James I.

† Bishop James Kennedy, of St. Andrews, an early promoter of St. Anthony's monastery, was a liberal and distinguished prelate. He founded St. Salvator's College, St. Andrew's, and in the minority of James III. was chief administrator of public affairs. He died on the 10th May, 1466, aged sixty. His mother, the Countess of Angus, was a daughter of Robert III.

‡ Sir Robert Logan, of Restalrig, was founder of the monastery. He, or his father, Sir Robert Logan, married a daughter of Robert II. by his queen Euphemia Ross.

For William Mudy, bischop of Caitnes,* and Gilbert Mudy.

For Schir James Logane,† knycht, and Dame Jane, his spous, and yair successouris.

For Master Johne Gray, parson of Lifton.

For Master Adam of Mongamry, parson of Dunkell.

For Laurence, of Bawlon, and Jonat, his spous.

For Schir William Crethton, lord of that Ilk, and his spous.

For Thomas Turyng, and Alison, his spous.

For Maister Robert Steill, person of Dolphynton.

For Schir Johne of Crawfurd, and Schir William of Crawfurd.

For Gregory Logane, and Margret, his spous.

For Johne Alyson, and Cristiane, his spous.

For William, of Strathauchan, and Elizabeth, his spous.‡

For Alward Ysbrand, and Agnes, his spous.

For Thomas Armonar, and Marion, his spous.

For Andro Matheson, and his spous.

For Jhone Lambe, and Cristiane, his spous.

For William Logane, of Coitfeild, and Annabell, his spous.

For Patrik Logane, of Coitfeild, and Jonat, his spous.

For Archbald Hepburn, in Hadington, and his spous.

For William of Clunes, and Jonat, his spous.

For Johne, of Lau, and Elizabeth, his spous.

For James of Ross, and Agnes, his spous.

For Maister David Monypenny,§ Rector of Sanctandros.

For Michel, of Chalmur, and Jonat, his spous.

* William Mudie was Bishop of Caithness in 1455.

† Sir James Logan was probably the son and successor of Sir Robert Logan, founder of the monastery.

‡ A branch of the house of Strachan, or Strathauchin, of that ilk, and afterwards of Thornton, were early settlers in Edinburgh. During the fifteenth century Vincent Strathauchin was a deputy clerk of the city. John Strathauchin is named in 1463 as renting from the corporation a shop or booth.—*Burgh Records of Edinburgh.*

§ In 1211 Ricardus de Monypenny obtained the lands of Pitmilly, Fifeshire, which are still in possession of the family. Master David Monypenny, rector of St. Andrews, was doubtless a member of this sept.

For Dauid Quhit, and Jonat, his spous.

For William Morthoson, Jonat and Agnes, his spousys.

For Edward Logane.

For Laurence Bertraham, and Anot, his spous.

For Thomas Bell, and Katerine Bertraham, his spous.

For James Wilson—for Johne Cant.

For Elene Clerk, ye spous of

For Johne Curig, procuratour of Sanct Anthonys.

For Dene Alexander Crawfurd, preceptor of Sanct Anthon's.

For Johne Matheson, in Broith, and Alison, his spous.

For Walter Buschart, and Marion, his spous.

For Johne Lawson, and Margret Cokburn, his spous.

For Elizabeth Lawson, spous of ye Laird of Waraston.

For Dene Richard Thomson, preceptor of Sanct Anthony.

For William Claperton, and Elizabeth Lummesdan, his spous.

For Johne Culross, and Jonat Lyndesay, his spous.

[Here follows the obituary, each day of the week being denoted by the letters a, b, c, d, e, f, and g. The following entries occur:—]

JANUARIUS.

Obitus Jacobi Ross, anno domini m°cccc°lxx.

MARTIUS.

(6th.) Obitus domini Roberti Logane, militis donatoris fundi preceptorie Sanct Anthonis, prope Leith, anno domini m°cccc°xxxix°.

(12.) Obitus Patricis Logane, anno domini m°cccclxi.

(19th.) Obitus Johannis Lambe, anno domini m°cccclxvi.

APRILIS.

(3rd.) Obitus Agnetis Berton, anno m°v°iii.

Obitus Johannis Curry, anno m°v°xiii.

Obitus Annabelle Strathauchyn, anno domini m°cccclxvii.

MAY.

(4th.) Obitus Johannis Cant et Helene Clerk, ejus spose qui obiit, anno domini m°v°xxviij°.

(11th.) Obitus David Quhit, burgensis de Edinburgh, anno m°cccc°lxxxxix.

(19th.) Obitus Laurencii Bawlon, et conjugis ejus anno m°cccc°lmo.

Obitus Johannis Law, anno m°cccclvij°.

JUNIUS.

(24th.) Obitus Alardi Ysbrand et Agnetis Joffray vxoris ejus, anno m°cccclxij.

JULIUS.

(1st.) Obitus Willelmi Clunes et Jonete conjugis ejus anno m°cccclij.

AUGUSTUS.

(12th.) Obitus Laurencii Bertrem, et Anote, spose sue anno m°v°.

SEPTEMBER.

Obitus Johannis Allanson et conjugis ejus anno m°cccc quarto.

Obitus Johannis Dudyngston, anno m°cccclxvi. Obitus Willelmi Morthoson, anno m°ccccxciij.

OCTOBER.

Obitus Jonete Morthoson, anno m°cccclxxxv.

Obitus Thome Armonar et conjugis ejus anno m°cccclx.

NOVEMBER.

Obitus Elene Clerk, anno m°cccc°lxxxxix.

Obitus Walteri Buchart et Mariote, spose sue, anno m°v°xxi.

Obitus domini Johannis Crawfurd, anno m°ccccxli.

DECEMBER.

Obitus Eduardi Logane.

Obitus Thome Bell, anno domini ccccxcix.

The following Inventory of documents connected with the dissolved monastery of St. Anthony was prepared by some unknown person connected with the Kirk-session or incor-

porated trades at Leith, about the beginning of the seventeenth century.*

> Inventar of the Writes and Securities belonging to the Kirk Session of South Leith, which are pairtly in their own Charter Cheast, and pairtly in the Charter Cheast kept by the four Incorporations of Leith, digested into some order and method, and beginning with the rights of the preceptory of St. Anton's.

No. 1. An Oblidgement by friar Michaell Gray, Master of the Hospital of St. Anton's near Leith, with consent of his brethren of the convent, in favors of William of Clunes of Leith, and Janet his Wife, whereby in consideration that the said William and Janet, had freely given to God and St. Anton's, their Tenement with the pertinents lying in the town of Leith, the preceptor oblidges him and his successors to say Masses for the souls of the donors, and to receive them into their Hospital, in manner and upon the provisions therein mentioned. It also contains a reservation of an annual rent of half ane merk each one, to William and his wife, and ane other to Gregory Logan and others. This Oblidgement is dated the 27th day of February 1444. Sealed with St. Anton's seal.

2nd. Ane Charter granted by William Creighton, Chancelor of Scotland, with consent of James Creighton of Frendraught his eldest son and apparent heir, in favors of the preceptor of St. Anton's near Leith and Convent of the same, and their successors, of his lands with the pertinents, lying in the town of Leith, on the east syde of the water thereof, in the barony of Restalrig and sheriffdom of Edinburgh, betwixt the lands of umquhil John Pittendreich, on the east, and the high way on the west; the lands of Sir John Winton, parson of Pennycuik on the south and the common shoar on the north pairts, on payment of eleven merks yearly with a sufficient chamber within the territory and mansion of St. Anton's, for the sustentation of an Chaiplain. This Charter is dated the 16th day of May 1448.

3rd. Charter of confirmation under the great seal, confirming the foresaid charter of mortification—this charter of confirmation is dated the 29th day of September 1451 years.

4th. Ane Charter granted by Elizabeth Lauder, daughter and one of the heirs of umquhil George Lauder, in favors of the Master and Convent of the place of St. Anton's near Leith, of an annual rent of

* General Hutton's Collections vol. v., Advocates Library.

four shillings Scots yearly to be uplifted furth of ane land lying in the burgh of Edinburgh, under the castell wall betwixt the land of David Whytehead, on the east, and the land of William Rhein on the west. This charter is dated the 15th day of December 1491, and is sealed with the granter's seall, and bears also to be sealled with the baillies seall, in token of his giveing infeftment.

5th. Commission by the Pope to William Mourton, preceptor of St. Anton's near Leith in Scotland, constituting him preceptor of the said preceptory, and procurator general for managing the said preceptory, and in gathering the revenue thereof, and containing several other clauses and priviledges dated at Rome the 19th day of February 1492. As also another parchment bearing particular regulations with regard to the apparel and ceremonial observances of the brethren.

6th. An patent or commission By Pope Leo to Richard Thomson conferring the priviledge of the said House or Hospital dated the 3d August 1513 and the first year of Leo's popedom.

7th. An Agreement under form of instrument betwixt John Barton elder, indweller in Leith on the one pairt, and Sir Alexander Crawfurd preceptor of the house of St. Anton's near Leith, on the other pairt, by which John Barton did resigne his annual rent of four merks which he held of St. Anton's, out of John Dickson's houses in Leith, in the hands of the said preceptor *ad perpetuam remanentiam*, for which the preceptors of St. Anton's were to infeft the said John and his heirs in an rent of fourteen shilling to be uplifted furth of another tenement of land lying in Leith. This Agreement is dated the 13th day of May 1510. Jasper Main notar thereto.

8th. Instrument of Seasine given by Sir Richard Thomson, preceptor of St. Anton's *propriis manibus* to John Innis and Margaret Lundie his spouse of an annual rent of four merks Scots yearly to be uplifted out of Laurance Barton's tenement of land lying in Leith, betwixt the lands of St. Anton's, on the east, the croft or land of John Mathieson on the west, the land of John Logan on the south, and the land of umquhil George Chaplain on the north pairts. This Seasine is dated the 5th day of December 1519. John Thomson, notar thereto. Sealled with St. Anton's seall.

9th. Charter by the said Sir Richard Thomson, preceptor of St. Anton's to the said John Innis and Margaret Lundie his spouse of

the foresaid annual rent of four merks to be uplifted out of the said Laurence Barton's land, dated the 7th day of December 1519. Subscribed by the preceptor and some of the friars and sealed with the common seall of the preceptory.

10th. Instrument of Seasine given by Sir Richard Thomson, preceptor of St. Anton's to Elizabeth Lawson, daughter and heir of umquhil John Lawson, of ane land, fallen and ruinous, belonging of old to John Lawson and Margaret Cockburn his spouse, lying in the town of Leith, on the south syde of the water thereof, barony of Restalrig and sheriffdome of Edinburgh, betwixt other land of the said umquhil John Lawson on the east, and the high way called the hill on the west; the land of George Knightson on the south, and the land of Walter Whyte on the north, and of ane rent of three pounds twelve shillings Scots, to be uplifted out of the foresaid lands of umquhile Walter Whyte, betwixt the foresaid land of umquhill John Lawson on the east and south, the shoar on the north, and the common way called the hill, on the west, with a resignation *ad remanentiam* of the said land, and annual rent by the said Elizabeth Lawson with consent of Andrew her husband, in the hands of the said Preceptor of St. Anton's to be upon by him and his successors at pleasure. This Seasine is dated the 14th day of November 1523. John Thomson notar thereto.

11th. Instrument of Resignation by John Mathieson, in the hands of the preceptor of St. Anton's, *ad perpetuam remanentiam* of an annual rent of ten shillings Scots, to be uplifted out of some lands in Leith; but both the date of this instrument and resignation of the lands are torn away; John Jackson is notar thereto and there is a seall appended to it.

12th. An Charter granted by King James the 6th, with consent of the Earle of Marr then Regent, to the Baillies, Councill and Community of the town of Leith, and their successors for ever of all lands, tenements, fruits and annual rents, belonging to any chaplainrys, founded within any kirk, chapell or college within the town of Leith. This Charter is dated the 10th day of June 1572.

13th. Copie of an signature, granted by king James the 6th in favors of Mr. John Hay, one of the ordinary Clerks of Session, of the preceptory of St. Anton's, and of the place or ground, where the kirk of the said preceptory of St. Anton's stood, and of all lands, tenements, rents, annual rents which belonged thereto (except the manse

and four aikers of land for the gleib conform to Act of Parliament) and also of all and sundry parsonage teynds of the lands of Reidhalls, Collingtoun, Oxengains, and half lands of Cornistoun, which lykewise pertained to the said preceptory, with the vicarage of the haill paroch of Hailles, and of certain tenements and annual rents, mentioned in the said gift, which also formerly belonged to the said preceptory, by which signature the foresaid preceptory and benefice thereof is dissolved and suppressed. And it is ordained that there should never thereafter any successor or preceptor be provided to the said preceptory, and benefice thereof, and the vassals to hold of the said Mr. John Hay. This paper is so worn that it cannot be all read, and it wants the end whereby the date cannot be known, but it seems to have been dated in the year 1592, and this paper is thought to be the same with the copy of Mr. John Hay's gift of St. Anton's, copied out of Mr. William Chalmers his book in anno 1633.

14th. Charter of feu farm granted by the said Mr. John Hay to Daniell Hay his brother and Margaret Purdie his spouse of all and haill that place or ground on which the kirk of the preceptory of St. Anton's near the town of Leith of old stood, with the kirk yard, mansion houses, biggings, yards, orchards and haill pertinents to be holden of the granter, in feu farm for payment of half an merk yearly. This Charter is dated the fifth day of March 1592.

15th. Instrument of Seasine following thereupon of the same date, Mr. George Tod, notar thereto.

16th. Charter of confirmation under the great seal of the foresaid feu farm. Charter dated the 26th day of February 1593.

17th. Two Instruments of Resignation by the said Mr. John Hay, and Daniell Hay his brother, of the foresaid Preceptory of St. Anton's with the place or ground where it stood, and of severall lands tenements and annual rents, belonging thereto, in the hands of King James 6th, in favor of the ministers, elders, and deacons of the Kirk Session of Leith, and their successors in office, in name and behalf of the poor of the Hospital of Leith present and to come. These two instruments are dated the 11th day of August 1596. David Maysie notar thereto.

18th. Instrument of Resignation by the Baillies, Council and Community of the town of Leith, in the hands of King James the 6th, of all lands, tenements, rents annual rents belonging to any chaplainrys,

prebendarys founded within the town of Leith, in favor of the ministers, elders and deacons of the kirk of Leith and their successors in office, in name and behalf of the poor of the Hospital thereof present and to come. This instrument is dated the 11th day of August 1596. Mr. David Maysie notar thereto.

19th. An Charter under the great seall by King James the sixth, to the minister, elders and deacons of the Kirk Session of Leith, and their successors in office, in name and behalf of the poor of the Hospital of the same, present and to come, of all and sundry lands, tenements and annual rents, which pertained to whatsomever chaplainrys, vicarages within the towns of Leith and Restalrig and of the place or ground where the Kirk of St. Anton's formerly stood, and annual rents and others belonging to the said Preceptory. This Charter is dated the 23rd day of September 1596 and bears to proceed upon the resignation of Mr. John and Daniell Hays.

20th. Precept of Seasine under the quarter seall relative thereto, and of the same date therewith.

21st. Instrument of Seasine following thereupon, in favor of the said minister, elders and deacons dated the 27th day of November 1596. Patrick Glassfoord, notar thereto.

22nd. Assignation by the said Mr. John Hay to the said ministers and elders of Leith, of the byrunne rents and duties of the foresaid lands of St. Anton's dated the 8th day of October 1596, which assignation relates to a disposition and procuratory of resignation, granted by the said Mr. John Hay, to the said Kirk Session, of the foresaid lands of St. Anton's.

23rd. An Decreet conform at the instance of the ministers, elders and deacons of the Kirk Session of Leith, against all and sundry feuars, tenants and possessors of any lands, tenements, annual rents belonging to St. Anton's, or any chaplainrys, prebendarys within the towns of Leith and Restalrig for the and year 1597 and in all time coming. This decreet is sealled the day of 1597; it is obtained before the Lords of Session. The extract is under the hand of Sir John Skene, Clerk Register, and it proceeds on the charter above mentioned.

24th. Letters of Horning raised thereupon of the same date with the decreet, subscribed by Alexander Lantie; signeted the 12th day of December 1606. Registrat at Edinburgh the 4th day of January 1609. The executions are lost.

25th. Contract of feu farm betwixt the ministers, elders and deacons of the Kirk Session of Leith, preceptors of St. Anton's, heritable proprietors of the wind mill, kiln houses and pertinents thereof diged in the yard called St. Anton's yard, lying upon the west pairt of the town of Leith, on the one pairt, and Mr. Jeremiah Lindsay of Dinyne on the other part, whereby the Session dispones to him in feu farm the said wind mill, kiln and houses thereof, for payment of four pennys Scots yearly. This contract is dated the last day of February 1606.

PREFATORY OBSERVATIONS.

REHEARSAL OF EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND FROM 1635 TO 1645, IN RELATION TO THE NATIONAL COVENANT.

EDITED FROM A CONTEMPORARY MS.

BY THE REV. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D.,

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A BELIEF in his divine right, with the acceptance of Archbishop Laud's doctrine that the concomitant of religious unity was uniformity in worship, led Charles I. to provoke those hostilities which brought him to the scaffold. At the Reformation the Scottish Church adopted the Genevan system of government, which dispensed with bishops and a liturgy. Upon it James VI. ingrafted a modified episcopacy, and Charles determined to complete its uniformity with the Anglican establishment by forcing on it canons and a liturgy.

According to royal order, a service-book, prepared by Laud and others, was, as a commencement, used in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, on the morning of Sunday, the 23rd July, 1637. Archbishop Spotswood, Chancellor of the kingdom, occupied the throne; the Bishop of Edinburgh, David Lindsay, sat in the pulpit; and Dr. James Hannay, Dean of Edinburgh, presided at the reading desk. As the last commenced to read from the service-book, murmurs of disapprobation became audible. A female who sat near the communion table rose from her stool, which she threw violently against the pulpit. General confusion ensued, and the bishops, unable to restore order, left the church. The country was aroused, and petitions against the service-book were forwarded

to the king from every town and hamlet. Then followed the Tables, or Committees, which met at Edinburgh. Under the direction of these bodies was prepared and issued a public declaration or bond, known as the *National Covenant.* In this instrument the subscribers bound themselves "to adhere unto and defend the true religion, forbearing the practice of all novations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the Church, or civil places, or power of churchmen, till they be tried and allowed in free assemblies and in parliament." They further declared as follows: "We have no intention or desire to attempt anything that may turn to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the king's greatness or authority, but, on the contrary, we promise and swear that we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread Sovereign, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the aforesaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom."

The National Covenant was on the 28th February, 1638, publicly subscribed in the Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. In that city about sixty thousand persons from different districts of the country had congregated, and the enthusiasm was enormous. As the king had ceased to summon Parliaments, and had prohibited the Church from meeting in general assembly, a combination in defence of liberty, religious and civil, had become a national necessity. This combination was secured by means of the Covenant, and its general acceptance at once paralyzed the monarch in his attempt to govern Scotland arbitrarily.

In certain districts, especially in the north, the Covenanters were less popular than the king. At Aberdeen the deputies who brought thither the Covenant were vigorously resisted. Of the proceedings attending the occasion, and of events arising therefrom, circumstantial relations have been preserved in two well-known contemporary narratives, Spalding's "Memorable Transactions," and Mr. James Gordon's "Scots Affairs." To

these is added the present "Rehearsal," which, though not unknown to modern writers, is now for the first time printed. The "Rehearsal" forms part of the MSS. of Robert Mylne, preserved in the Advocates Library. The folio volume, which contains it, is on the title-page thus inscribed, "Sir Ludovick Steuart, of Kirkhill, Advocat, his collectiones. He was great-grandfather to Lady Margaret Cuninghame, Countess of Lauderdale. With several valuable additiones of Bulls, Charters, etc., efter page 351: all preceding that page being Sir Lewis' collectiones, and the rest out of the valuable collectiones of Mr. Richard Hay, channon regular of the Abbey of St. Geneve in Paris, France, and pryor of St. Peirmont—a most worthie gentleman of Scots extraction—well known by his admirable collectiones. Ex manuscriptis Roberti Mylne, Scribæ."

As the "Rehearsal" commences at page 420 of the MS. folio, it must have been transcribed from the collections of Canon Hay, which follow page 351. The writer is described "as a friend of Dr. Alexander's at Aberdeen." In 1645 there were resident at Aberdeen three persons of some prominence, John, Richard, and Alexander Alexander. Along with the magistrates and others, these persons met at Aberdeen on the 7th March, 1645, to concert measures whereby the Marquis of Montrose might be induced not to bring into the place his army, which was then encamped in the vicinity. Four commissioners were appointed to wait upon the Marquis, one of whom was "Mr. John Alexander."* This gentleman is, in the Burgh Records, described as "advocate in Edinburgh," and is represented as petitioning the Town Council to grant him a portion of ground, which George Jamesone, his father-in-law, had held in life rent.† He was one of the three husbands of Mary, daughter and heiress of George Jamesone, the eminent painter. His son, Cosmo Alexander, attained eminence as an engraver; and his grandson, John Alexander, was the celebrated painter.

* Records of Burgh of Aberdeen, p. 43. † *Ibid.* p. 40.

Mr. John Alexander was probably that "Doctor Alexander" whose "friend" is said to have composed the "Rehearsal." The designation of "Doctor" may have been granted him by one of the colleges at Aberdeen in tribute to his professional learning. Along with others of the name at Aberdeen, he was related to the family of Alexander of Menstry, which produced the celebrated poet and statesman, Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling. On the 8th August, 1672, Alexander Alexander, bailie in Aberdeen, was admitted an honorary burgess of Stirling;* of that town, the Earl of Stirling, and his sons,† were honorary burgesses, while several members of his family traded in the place. To the connexion subsisting between the author of the "Rehearsal" and "Doctor Alexander," we doubtless owe the information, supplied by our chronicler, and which is not to be found elsewhere, that two sons of the Earl of Stirling accompanied John Gordon, Lord Aboyne, when in 1639 he sailed into the roads at Aberdeen with three ships of war to resist the upholders of the Covenant. Though the Earl of Stirling was much attached to the king, and had secretly aided the introduction of episcopacy in the Scottish Church, he was undesirous of openly breaking with the Presbyterians, and hence was careful to conceal that his sons were actually in arms for their discomfiture.

As the author of the "Rehearsal" conceals his name, and is known only as "a friend of Doctor Alexander's," it would seem that, like the Earl of Stirling, he had avoided giving offence to either of the ecclesiastical parties. Like the Earl, too, he was a keen partisan of royalty, and a secret upholder of prelatic worship. Not improbably Doctor Alexander was himself the chronicler.

By Canon Hay, or a former transcriber of the MS., the

* Burgh Records of Stirling.

† Henry and John, the third and fourth sons of Lord Stirling. His two elder sons, William Lord Alexander and Sir Antony Alexander, died prior to Lord Aboyne's cruise; the latter on the 17th September, 1637, and the former on the 18th May, 1638.

writer is described as having "collected" his facts, but the chronicler himself intimates, with reference to certain occurrences in the year 1638, that he was "both ane eye and ear witnes to them." This declaration should, we think, extend to all the events set forth as occurring at Aberdeen from 1638 to 1640.

In estimating the narrative historically, it must be borne in mind that the chronicler is an acknowledged partisan—one who entertained a strong hostility towards those whose doings he is at pains to record. Of the chroniclers of the period, the majority espouse the opposite side, and it is well that both parties should be heard. The utterances of bigotry help in determining the spirit and character of an age. During the sixteenth century Scottish ecclesiastics and others inveighed fiercely at each other.

Though concealing his identity, the author of the "Rehearsal" had evidently intended a publication, for he addresses himself to "the reader." But he did not intend to mislead by any affected neutrality. Referring to two eclipses of the sun and two of the moon which took place in 1639, he adds, "The fifth eclipse was that of the glory and liberty of Scotland by the overflowing flood of the Covenant." He affirms that the Parliament of 1639 decreed that its military leader, Major-General Monro, should plant the Covenant with an army composed of "adulterers, drunkards, and thieves," to be nominated by the parochial clergy, and that the General Assembly of the same year resolved to imprison the persons and wreck the houses of all bishops who did not conform. Notwithstanding these and other extravagances, the "Rehearsal" forms a record not without considerable value to the annalist and the historian.

A LITTLE YET TRUE REHEARSALL OF SEVERALL PASSAGES OF AFFAIRS, COLLECTED BY A FRIEND OF DOCTOR ALEXANDER'S, AT ABERDEEN.

In the year of God 1635 there was no matter of great importance that did fall out except the death of Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen, the 28th March, who had a great buriall. In his tyme printing first begane in Aberdein, the bridges of Dee and Don were repaired, the two colledges were amplified, the bullwork fortified, all the streets calsied, the Tolbooth steiple built, the back house built, the great bell refounded, twelve cannons brought home to the castell hill, the great calsie mouth taken up and calsied new, the Trinitie Hospitall builded be the crafts and their patron, Mr. William Guild—Sir Paule Meinzies being provost at this tyme. In this year, about the beginning of January, ther came on ane great storme of snowe, and did continue till the midst of Lentron,* for vpon the seavinth day of March people wes crosseing the river of Dee upon the ice. This winter the most pairt of the sheep of Scotland died by reason of the great storme of snow.

In the year 1636 many things did fall out. But y^{t} year y^{t} were seaven ships and barks caried out of the harbour to the sea, and all were lost, amongst whom y^{r} was a ship full of souldiers. This fell out at the tyme of Cowan fair in October. The Puritanes this year, who afterward wes called Covenanters, had some quiet meittings.

In the year 1637 there is not any thing remarkable worthy of the speaking except those Puritanes who were sitting in some quiet places at their meitting about the matter of the Covenant [which] in tyme and place shall be set down. In the year 1638 ther is much to be wrytten and farr more spoken, for this year the Covenant was subscryved at Edin^{r}, to the great mischeife of all Scotland, England, and also

* Spring: the time of Lent.

Ireland. The ringleaders were the Earle of Argyle, the Earle of Rothes, the Earle of Montrose, the Lord Loudon, the Earl of Louthian, Sir George Stirling of Keir, Sir W^m^. Douglas of Cavers, Sir Henry Wood of Bonnytoun, John Smith, the Provost of Edin^r^, Mr. Robert Barcklay, Provost of Irvine; Mr. Alex^r^. Henderson, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. Rollock, with many more of the nobilitie, barrons and ministers and burgers of evry citie. These men forsaid and many more having subscryved the said Covenant, they broke up the meitting, and every ane of them went to his own home to sie how many he could deceave with it,—for they rode and ran throughout Scotland in such ane intyceing way that the lyke wes never read of. For that year there came of that Covenant, factiones to Aberdein, the Earle of Montrose (who afterwards repented all that work), the Lord Arbuthnot, the Laird of Morphie, the Laird of Dune,* with the Laird of Leyes,† and many other barrons and gentlemen, with Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. David Dickson, Master Alex^r^ Henderson, ministers. These men, because they could not get entress to our church to preach, they went to the Earle of Marshall,‡ his close on the castle gaite, and preached three sermons upon Sunday (about the end of July), where they had such intyceing sermons for the common people that after ages will not beleive it. I was both ane eye and ear witnes to them, for at that tyme they were so cryed up and dotted on that the laird of Leyes (vtherwayes ane wyse man) did cary Mr. Andrew Cant his books; yet at that time there wes but very few that subscryved—but only fourtein men. Their names are Provost Lesley, ane ring leader, but afterwards he did repent it, as shall be declared in tyme and place; Alexander Jaffray, Alexander Burnet, Andrew Burnet, elder, with some others, but not of great qualitie, for at this time, good reader, thou shalt understand that there were worthy preachers in Aberdein as Brittain could

* John Erskine of Dun. † Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys, Baronet.
‡ William, seventh Earl Marischal.

afford. Ther names were Mr. Robert Barron,* Mr. James Sibbald,† Mr. Alex^r Ross.‡ Mr. Wm. Guild § was lyke the weather cock. He did returne at the first sermon that ever he heard of the Covenant. Lykewyse in Old Aberdein ther wes Mr. John Forbes,‖ laird of Corse, a man of singular good life, and Mr. Alex^r Scroggie.¶ Thir men forsaid had many disputs with the Covenanters, for they wrote amongst others, to witt, thes plyes, replyes, duplyes, triplyes, and quadruplyes.** But in all thes disputs the Covenanters came so short to the ministers of Aberdein, as ane gramarier†† to a divyne. After this they went through all the north with thir barrons afoirsaid, and many more that joyned with them, through Murray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithnes, making the people beleive that the king was to bring in poperie and the mass, and that the king wes to take the kirklands or abbacie‡‡ land

* Mr. Robert Barron, Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and subsequently bishop-elect of Orkney.

† Mr. James Sibbald, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, was deposed by the General Assembly, for preaching Arminianism and refusing to subscribe the Covenant.

‡ Mr. Alexander Ross was minister of the third charge of Aberdeen; he eagerly opposed subscription to the Covenant, and corresponded on the subject with Archbishop Laud.

§ Mr. William Guild, minister of the second charge, Aberdeen, subscribed the Covenant with limitations. He became Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1640.

‖ John Forbes, D.D., was some time Professor of Divinity in King's College; he was afterwards minister of Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen.

¶ Mr. Alexander Scrogie, minister of Old Machar, vigorously opposed the Covenant, and on this account was deposed by the General Assembly in 1640. He afterwards offered to subscribe it.

** To the "Replys and Duplies," against the Covenant, Mr. James Sibbald, of Aberdein, was a prominent contributor.

†† A teacher of grammar or schoolmaster.

‡‡ By the counsel of Sir John Scott, director of the chancery, Charles I. contemplated, early in his reign, to assume possession of the church lands in Scotland, in virtue of his prerogative. The proposal producing much discontent, was departed from; but the holders of church lands ceased to entertain any confidence in the throne, a circumstance which naturally tended to the general acceptance of the Covenant and the downfall of the monarch.

from them that had them in heretage, quhilk were all manifest lyes.—This year these new Covenanters did nothing but persuade the people to subscryve that Covenant. About the end of August the king sent the Covenant that wes subscryved, in his father King James' tyme, in the year 1580, 1581, to the Marquis of Huntly, when he came to Aberdein, and caused it to be read publictlie at the cross, and many noblemen and barrons and people of all ranks subscryved it. Ther came at that tyme the Lord Frazer, the Lord Forbes, the Lord Crichton, with ane number of barrons of the Covenant syde, and took protestation against the king's covenant, for after this matters did ly very calme till the nixt year, except their ploting against the king and his pairtie. This year wes ane very dry year, for about the end of August all the cornes in Scotland were within the yeards.

In the year 1639 thes Covenanters forsaid in the beginning of the year, finding that the conspiracie was drawen up (I should have said drawen out), begane to hold their meittings, which at that time were called Comitties, did raise horsemen and footmen throughout all the north, south, and west countries, for at this tyme there wes ane called Generall Lesley, of obscure birth ane bastard,* being brought up in the King of Sweden's armie in Germany; ane other called David Lesly, son to the Lord Lindores. Thir men being for the Covenant, took the guiding of the army that wes raised in Scotland, and led their army through all Scotland, forceing men to subscryve, so at length they came to Aberdein accompanyed with the shyres that did ly nearest the north: to witt, the shyres of Stirling, Clackmanan, Perth, Fyfe, Angus, Mearnes, and all their associates in the north, about the number of ten thousand men. (This winter was the fairest that was in Scotland this many years.) This army came to the Bridge of Dee in the midst of March, and set ther camp on the Tulloch hill the

* General Alexander Leslie, latterly Earl of Leven, was not of illegitimate birth. He was son of Captain George Leslie of Balgonie, by his wife Anne, daughter of Stewart of Ballechun.

first night; on the morrow they led their army through Aberdein in such a grandour—that wes admirable bot for no other purpose bot to terrifie the inhabitants therof, and then went to the links where the Earle of Marshall Forbes, Frazer, Crichton, and all the northern barrons mett there with their forces of horse and foot. And all thes men came for no other purpose or intention bot to plunder Aberdein becaus they wold not goe on in the wars of the Covenant with them. After this they marched to Kintoir to sie if they could take the Marquis of Huntlie, who was lying at Inverury with a small pairty for the king. But the Marquis of Huntlie not having order from the king to fight with them, nor of himselfe desyreous of blood, did parlie with Generall Lesley, and after dismissed his forces. But Lesley not keeping condition to the said Marquis, sent him to Edinburgh, where he was put in the castle, and remained till Junij that the king came to Berwick and pacified the troubles in Scotland for that year (as after shall be declared in its own tyme and place). When the army went to Kintoir, as wes befoir declared, there wes two thousand of their best men brought into Aberdein upon frie quarter and to cast in our ditches, for in the begining of this year there was one Collonell W^m^ Johnstoun, son to Robert Johnstoun, Laird of Crimon,* who wes weill experienced in warlike affairs, being born in Aberdein, and fearing the danger and thinking to have gotten supplie from the king out of England, did draw ane ditch about the toun. The spring tyme being very fair, the people of Aberdein was so willing that within twentie dayes they did cast out all the ditches. This two thousand men forsaid forced the tounes people to cast them all in againe. At this tyme many of the speciall men of Aberdeen left it and went to Holland, and for England, and some of our ministers, specially M^r^. Robert Barron, who dyed at Berwick.

All this tyme Argyle brought doun all his lairds and outlaws out of his Africa to Aberdein, who were the first

* Robert Johnstone, of Crimond, was Provost of Aberdeen—"Gordon's Scots Affairs," ii., 257.

plunderers in Scotland. The Libians in Africa were not so savage as they in all things they took but especiallie iron work, for indeid afterwards they gott their fill at Inverlochie (as sall be declared in its own tyme). When Generall Lesley and his army had over-rune all the north of Scotland because they wold not joyne in the Covenant with them, they returned to the south againe loaded with spoyle and plunder, especiallie the Dundie men, who wes so furiously set against Aberdein, that if they had gotten way they thought it good service to have killed every creature in it. But, thanks be to God, they were disappointed, for the drink they had brewin for Aberdein, they did drink of it themselves, as hereafter shall be declared. Generall Lesley having dismissed his northland army, he raised all Scotland beyond the Forth river from east to west, and marched to Dunselaw, and there set doun his camp and lay waiting the king's coming from England, being about the number of 30,000 men. They were so furiously set for the Covenant that every man ran willingly of his own accord.

The king all this tyme marching with his army at length came to Berwick in Junij, not to enter in blood bot to sie if he could get matters settled in a calme way. But nothing could work with the Scots except they gott all their will, quhich in end they gott. The king seing nothing wold move them to peace, he drew out his forces to the feild, quhilk wold have bein about 20,000 weill furnished men, for first he put furth the Earle of Holland, they [took the] way to Kelso with 4,000 horsemen to cross the river and come doun to try the Scots. But he not being honest, or ane coward, was resisted be Collonell Monro, who had with him 1,200 footmen, being set at the back of ane long dyke and gave him ane volley of shot* befoir he came within halfe ane myle, turned his horse head againe and came back to the king to the army, and reported that east and west of Scotland wes full of men. This strucke such ane fear in the hearts of the king's army

* This "volley," in connection with the affair of Dunse Law, is omitted by contemporary chroniclers.

that within ane night or two, many of them stole away, so the king seing nothing to content the Scots bot blood, or them to have their wills, commissioners wes set out on both sydes. But nothing to the purpose quhilk wes upon the 18 of Junij. So at length the king gave them all their desyre and dismissed his army, and the Scots returned to their severall dwellings. In this meane tyme, when the king wes at Berwick, the Marquis of Hamilton wes put forth to the sea with ane fleit of ships and 10,000 men weill appointed to land in Fyfe. But he, delaying the tyme to sie what the king wold doe, landit not his men, but keeped them in the ships untill many wes sick and some dyed. Ther wes at that tyme sundrie noblemen and officers of Scots men, who being grieved at the Marquis of Hamiltoun, that wold not land his men nor act any thing, and they being suspicious he not being honest in the king's business, left him and came to the Road of Aberdein with three war ships. And they rode there till they saw occasion to land, as after shall be declared. The names of these were James Gordon, Lord of Aboyne, second son to the Marquis of Huntly, the Earle of Glencairne, two sons of the Earle of Strivling, the lord of Tillibairne, with two sons of the laird of Drums, elder and younger, the laird of Federet, and many of Aberdein's men, who had fled away in March. Among whom wes William Cuthbert and Collonell Gune, ane Stranaver man borne,* Captaine Nathaniell Gordon, two Captaines James Gordon, one of them called Tineleg, loseing his leg in England, with some ministers who afterwards turned vehement for the Covenant. Now we returne to our affairs in the north cuntry. After that Generall Lesley had broken condition to the Marquis of Huntley and carried him

* Colonel Gun was son of John Gun Robson, and was a kinsman of the Earl of Sutherland; he was born at Westergarthie in Sutherland. In 1639 he was knighted at Berwick by Charles I., and was subsequently appointed a gentleman of the king's bedchamber. He early attained distinction in the German wars, and having returned to Germany, was promoted as major-general and constituted a baron of the empire.—Gordon's "Scots Affairs," ii., 266, *note*.

prisoner to Edinburgh, the rest of the northland Covenanters did begine to insult the king's pairtie, that in some quiet places remained behind Huntley. The leader of the Covenant faction was the Earle of Marshal; how being he wes long in puting his hand to it, yet he turned more cruell than any who was in at the begining. The lord Fraser, the lord Crichtoun, the lord Forbes, the laird of Towie, the laird of Delgettie, the laird of Cragivar (that famous oppressor),—they, I say, with all their followers, but especiallie the Buchan men, with the laird of Ludquharne, did convein at the toun of Turreffe, and thinking to goe through the land as Generall Lesley did, was surprysed by ane pairtie of the king's. The leaders therof being the lairds of Bamfe, Haddo, Gight, Park, Collonell Johnstoun, with diverse others, came to the toun of Turreffe be the break of day, and having beset the toun befoir they were aware of, gave the Covenanters a charge, who all fled without stroak of sword.* This was about the begining of May. The most pairt of all the comons of Buchan did cast their armes from them, yet many being taken with little blood, were sent to their homes, being sworne not to ryse in that cause againe. But never one word performed when occasion offered, because the ministers gave them a pardon for all others against the Covenant. After this the king's pairtie did convein more forces; then they marched towards Inverurie, and came to Aberdein, and resting there two dayes, they marched southward. The shyres of Mearnes and Angus, not able to encounter them, agreed upon thes termes, that the king's pairtie should march to their dwellings, and the Covenant pairtie swear not to come north againe. But never ane word keeped; for as soon as the king's pairtie was dismissed the other pairtie conveined. To witt, the Covenanters from all quarters of the countrie, and came to Aberdein, about 6,000 men, the Earle of Montrose being the Generall, accompanyed with the Earle of Marshal, the Lord

* This is a very imperfect account of the affair of Turriff. *See* Gordon's "Scots Affairs," 256—259, and Spalding's "Memorials," ed. 1829, p. 112.

Fraser, and all the noblemen and gentlemen and comons in Angus and Stormond. The Earle of Athole and all his men, with all the power of the Covenanters of the north, and being in Aberdein alwayes upon frie quarters, did put in all their horse amongst the young bear and destroyed it all, and marching from Aberdein they went to Gight, and laid seige to the house, but prevailed nothing against it, for in the mean tyme there came from the Marquis of Hamiltoun the men befoir spoken of, to witt, Glencairne, the Lord of Aboyne, the Lord of Tillibairne, and the rest of the foir-named persons. They, I say, coming to the road of Aberdein with two ships of war and a Collonel, did strick such ane fear and terror in the hearts of the Covenanters that they all forsook the Castle of Gight and marched back to Aberdein within three days, leaving nothing behind them but the dolefull spectacle of their plundering foresaid. The Athole men, hearing of the king's ships comeing to Aberdein, marched home the nearest way through the countrie, for the most part of them was for the king in their hearts. The rest of Montrose's army comeing to Aberdein rested one night, but on the morrow they were stroak with such a panick in their hearts that they fled south without any kind of order, for the Earle of Montrose's colores wes sein caryed out at Provost Jaffrey's, his back yeat, without a man to guard them. After their departure, the Lord of Aboyne, with the rest of the noblemen and captaines and gentlemen landit, and went to Straboggie, his father's dwelling, and there met with his friends and others, who were for the king, and did raise all the power they could, seing the fruit of the Covenant did repent and joyne with the king's pairtie, and marched to Aberdein, where the toun joyned to them 300 of the gallantest young men in the citie. They might have raised many more, bot many had turned to the Covenant. The lord of Aboyne being generall, had his rendezvous at Muthill in the Mearnes, at the laird of Leye's castell, being about 6,000 men, and from thence marched to Megrahill above the toun of Cowie. And there the army being drawn up in battell array, Collonel Gune being commander of the

foot, and Collonel Johnstoun of the horse, this Collonel Gune, being a traitor, led the foot army befoir the face of the enemie's cannon, the enemy being camped in Stonhyve, and having with them twelve feild pieces and tuo cartows, their bullets weying thirty-two pounds weight. These cartows bullets lighted among the Lord Aboyne's highland men, and they not being accustomed with the noyse of the canons, retired back. By no means could they be got into any order againe, bot all went home with the countrie cattell and sheep, for it is their custome to spoyll when they goe home from battell. The Lord of Aboyne with the rest of his army retired back to Aberdein, where all the Strathbogie foot men went home and there remained nor wald move—but a few barrons and gentlemen, who were horsemen. This shameful runing away at Megrahill* was upon the 15 day of Junij. The Covenant pairty of the south seing them rune away without any skaith receavit, took such courage and came to the Bridge of Dee upon Tuesday thereafter, the 18 day of Junij, being in number about 4,000 men. The toun of Aberdein, seing themselves left of all the king's pairtie, except the Lord of Aboyne and some few horsemen, and knowing the hatred the Covenanters had to them, the citie went to the said Bridge of Dee very couragiously, about 500 men, Collonell Johnstoun, their commander, with two little feild pieces, and having gotten possession of the bridge, withstood the Covenanters, who had ther fourteen cannons, and defended the said bridge most stoutlie untill, unfortunatly, Collonell Johnstoun receaved ane great stroak with the cannon bullet on the knee, who, not being able to stand, was forced to retire himselfe from the bridge, and Nathaniell Gordon entred his place, and acted his pairt worthilie, while in the end Aberdein's men being few in number and the other pairty many, and strong by reason of their great cannon and the loss of Collonell Johnstoun, and ane unhappie bullet coming from one of the cartows killed the Laird of Pitmedden,* the rest of the horse-

* For a detailed account of the skirmish at Meagre, near Stonehaven, see Gordon's "Scots Affairs," ii., 272—4.

men being terrified hereat fled, being still suspicious of Collonell Gun, he drawing up the horsmen still in the face of the enemy. They had intelligence what they were, and seing to be but few, gave such an assault to the bridge, that they wan it, John Midletoun being their captaine, for this was the first exployt that ever he did.† The bridge being wone, every man made releife for himselfe as he could doe best. Upon the Covenant syde ther were divers killed, whom they buried in the mosses beyond the bridge, among the rest Mr. Andrew Ramsay,‡ brother to the Laird of Bomaine [Balmain]. On the king's syde ther was but few killed, but divers hurt and wounded. The Covenant pairtie, after the bridge was wone, marched directlie to Aberdein, the people being afraied the most pairt fled, Montrose and Marshal being possest of the toun. Be Marshal, his perswasion was myndful to have plundered it, and then to have set it on fire. But Montrose, being a nobler spirit, wold in no terms let burne it, bot both was willing to have plundered it if tyme had served, for the day being far spent and drawing toward night, they quited the toun that night and marched to the links. And in the morning the noblemen and barons and lairds and leaders [intended] to have fallen upon the best houses and then given all the rest of the spoyle to the souldiers. But the Almighty God, ordering all things as it pleaseth Him, did change the course another way, for upon the morrow about two hours there came to the road one John Straquhan,§ with orders from the king that they should cease

* John Seton of Pitmedden.

† John Middleton afterwards deserted the popular cause, and attached himself to the king's party, when he was created Earl of Middleton. On account of malversation, he was latterly deprived of his public offices.

‡ According to Mr. James Gordon, Captain Andrew Ramsay was killed by John Gordon, of Inshstomock, "with a marked shot."—Gordon's "Scots Affairs," ii., 279.

§ John Strachan, son of a sea-captain at Aberdein, was an officer in the Royal Navy; he zealously attached himself to the royal cause. He was employed by the king in several important services both on sea and land.—Spalding's Memorials, *passim.*

from that cruell persute of theirs against his pairtie in the north. Lykewayes did show the aggriement betwixt the king and the Covenanters at Dunselaw. This army at Aberdein, seing themselves dissapoynted of their intention, forced the toun to give them 10,000 merks Scots to fill their purses.* Ther was at this tyme in the Covenant army one William Erskine, brother to the laird of Pittodrie, one of the cruellest oppressors that ever was read of, especiallie against Aberdein's men; but God, who takes a course with such men, did so with this man, for Mr. Andrew Ramsay forsaid, being brought to Aberdein, was buried upon the morrow after the wining of the bridge. The church yaird being set full of musqueteirs to shoot when he was to be interred, a bullet sent be God did knock out this Erskine's brains, and this was the end of that cruell oppressor.† The army for the Covenant marching home left nothing be the way, but as a speat did cary all with them. This wes the planting of the Covenant that year in Scotland.

This year, Feberwarij, the Marquis of Huntley had a meitting of all the men that was for the king in the north. About 5,000 gallant horsmen did march to the toun of Turreffe, for at this tyme the Earle of Montros, with ane pairtie of the Covenant, was in that toun, but Huntley, not having orders from the king, dismissed that pairtie, not acting any thing worth the speaking of. This year the Covenanters having departed home from Dunselaw, and the king returning to London with sundrie noblemen of Scotland, who had bein prisoners in Edinburgh, did begin to hold their committies in divers places concerning the propagating of the Covenant.

They ordained ane General Assemblie of the Kirk to be holden at Glasgow in August. The Assemblie being conveined, it was ordained that all bishops within the kingdome

* By Mr. James Gordon the skirmish at the Bridge of Dee is circumstantially described.—"Scots Affairs," ii., 276—283.

† William Erskine was unpopular, and was no doubt shot by an enemy. William Anderson, a goldsmith, was charged with his murder, but was acquitted.—Gordon's "Scots Affairs," ii., 282.

of Scotland that wold not quit their charges should be summarly excommunicat, and then to be apprehendit and put in prison, and their dwellings to be plundered and casten doun. In this Assembly it was ordained that if ane kirkman did speak any thing against their proceidings he should be summarly excommunicat before his own face. This wes the affairs of Scotland this year.—In this year there wes four eclipses, two of the sun and two of the moon. The fifth eclipse was the glory and liberty of our kingdom of Scotland, by the overflowing flood of the Covenant. In the end of this year the Committee of Estates did hold their meitting at Edinburgh, where they did choose Mr. Robert Monro, ane Ross man, borne to be comander of ane partie, and gave him the styll of Major-Generall,* and to list ane regiment of men to witt, sex or eight out of every parish, and thes wes adulterers, furnicators, theives, murderers, drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, who were given up be the minister of every parish, and these were to plant the Covenant through Scotland.

1640.—In the beginning of this year the forsaid Covenanters, having all things under their feet, did hold their comittees without any interuptione, and did sett this Major-Generall Monro in great pomp, and he, thinking no less of himselfe, did hold his rendezvous about Haddingtoun, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and some other places where the ministers and the heritors of the parishes did bring or send the foirnamed persons, and being conveined to the generall rendezvous at Musselburgh, did march towards the north, and at length came to Aberdein in the end of the month of May, and there did quarter his men, being about 800. There they did remaine till the end of Junij; until grass and corn were grown up in the end of Junij; he plundered Aberdein of all the armes

* Colonel Robert Monro was a distinguished officer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. Recalled by Charles I., he espoused the cause of the Covenanters, and accepted a command on their behalf. He afterwards held an important command in Ireland. His "Expedition" in Sweden, a folio volume published in 1657, suggested to Sir Walter Scott the character of Dugald Dalgetty.

that wes within it, forcing every man to swear what he had, and then taking a number of Aberdein men with him he came to the laird of Drums Castell, and there did lay ane seidge to it. His own tennants defendit the castell stoutly for three or four dayes; bot in the end they were forced to surrender and leave all their armes behind them, and Monro did put in ane garrison therein.* After that returning to Aberdein, resting his men some few dayes, he upon ane Sunday at night drew forth his whole men out of the toun, and took all the poor labourers' horses, went to Strathbogie and Enzie, and to Auchindoun, and plundered all that land, except such as fled or escaped to the highlands or hills. Nevertheless he did fyne all the free holders and woodsetters of the name of Gordon, and others, who had been for the king the year befoir. After this he crossed the river of Spey to Spynie, the Bishop of Murray, his residence,† and deceaving the porter, got entrance, when he took the bishop and all his treasure, and carried him south, prisoner. After the taking of the bishop, he went to Ross, his own countrie. His friends gave him 200 Highlanders to help to plant the Covenant, and then returning southward he came to Banffe, where he set his camp in the midst of the Earle of Airlie, his corns, and destroyed them all, and did cast doun the lord of Banffe's palace.‡ Good reader,

* The siege of Drum Castle, the residence of Sir Alexander Irvine, is described by Mr. James Gordon more circumstantially. Sir Alexander Irvine was absent at the time of the siege.—"Scots Affairs," iii., 197.

† Spynie Castle was the official residence of Mr. John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, who had declined to obey the sentence of the General Assembly of 1638, depriving him of office. His expulsion from Spynie Castle by Major-General Monro, at the instance of the Church, took place on the 16th July, 1640; he was subsequently imprisoned at Edinburgh. He latterly purchased the estate of Guthrie, in the county of Forfar.—"Fasti. Eccl., Scot," iii., 451.

‡ The owner of Banff Palace was Sir George Ogilvy. Mr. James Gordon presents a circumstantial account of Monro's defacement of the palace, and of the beautiful gardens attached to it. According to Gordon, Charles I., in 1641, presented to Sir George Ogilvie 10,000 marks to repair his loss.—"History of Scots Affairs," iii., 253.

all this tyme he was accompanyed with the Forbess, Frazers, the Lord Crichton, the Earl of Marshal, and all his friends, and all the Covenanters of the north. After he had waisted all the Earle of Airlie's and the Lord of Banffe's lands, he marched south and came to Aberdein, and there remained untill he forced the merchants to give him so many elns * of lining and small hardin as wold be shirts for his souldiers, not paying any thing for it, except the publics bond. Thus, when he had exacted so great soumes of money from these barrons and frie holders that had been for the king, and disarmed all Aberdein, he marched south, and came to the Merse, where he quartered all that winter. This was Collonell Monro, his doings all that year in the north.—The ministers this year, in the end of July, did hold a General Assemblie in Aberdein within the Greyfrier Kirk. Mr. Andrew Ramsay, minister of Edinburgh, being chosen Moderator, did depose the ministers of New and Old Aberdein, worthie learned men as wes in the isle of Brittaine, men of good lyfe, because they wold not goe in that furie of the Covenant. Ther names were Mr. James Sibbald, Mr. Alexander Scrogie,† Mr. John Forbes, laird of Corse, Professor of Divinity in Old Aberdein, with many ministers in the countrie. There wes given in that Assemblie great complaints against the Laird of Leckie, in Striveling-shire, for keeping his night meittings, called at that tyme the Familie of Love,‡ because there wes foull pranks played at it amongst young men and young women. Ther wes orders given out at this Assemblie to excommunicate every man, both kirk men and laiks, who wold not subscribe the Covenant

* An ell. The Scottish ell is 37·2 ins. in length.

† See *supra*.

‡ These nocturnal meetings for devotional exercises were conducted in Stirlingshire, and throughout the west of Scotland. Certain irregularities connected with them were reported to the General Assembly by Mr. Henry Guthrie, minister of Stirling, and it was ordered that the meetings should cease. The promoters were chiefly remarkable for their opposition to set forms of prayer.—Gordon's "Scots Affairs" iii. 222, 223.

and that sumarlie. It was ordained lykewayes that the bishops dwelling in Old Aberdein should be plundered and casten doun, quhilk was performed shortly be the Lord Forbes and his friends. Nevertheless the Bishop at that tyme called Mr. Adam Ballantine, ane aged man and of ane good lyfe, being halfe brother to the Lord Forbes be the mother; they who should have bein his friends were the men did first put hand on him, and seized on all his house and plenishing. Escaping himselfe, he lived quietlie in ane husbandman's house in the Boyne, untill Monro and his souldiers wes gone south, and then the poor Bishop went to England, where he died.* The ministers who were for the Covenant did then cry out that he that wold not come into that blessed work of Reformation was assuredly damned in hell. This was the affairs of the kirk that year.

In the month of Junij the Estates of Scotland, so called for the tyme, did raise ane levie of men throughout all Scotland, the fourth man to goe to England against the king; nevertheless he giving them all contentment. The year befoir old Lesley being chosen their Generall, David Lesley his Lieuetennant Generall, the Earl of Callander and the Lieuetennent Generall, Sir James Lumsden Major Generall, with many nobles and barons of Scotland, did meit at Kelso, or near by and marched forward to England, and many ministers with them crying for fighting untill they came to Newburne,† where the king had a pairtie lying. The king's pairtie, not suspecting the Scots army to have come so soon, was surprised,

* Adam Bellenden, Bishop of Aberdeen, was a correspondent of Archbishop Laud; he was excommunicated by the General Assembly of 1638, and left Aberdeen in March, 1639. In 1641, he received a pension of £100 from Charles I., and in 1642 was, under a different name, instituted rector of Portlock, Somersetshire. He died in 1647.—"Fasti Eccl. Scot.," iii, 885.

† Newburn is situated five miles to the north-west of Newcastle. At the battle fought here in August, 1640, the Scottish Parliamentary army, under Major-General Leslie, defeated the king's forces under command of Lord Conway.

and diverse killed and many taken prisoners, among whom the lord Digbie.

Observations in the Year 1644.

In the beginning of this year the Marquis of Huntley did convein the pairtie that was for the king in the north, and in the month of March came to Aberdein with all his friends of the name of Gordon (I mean the Gordons of the north). As for the Gordons in Galloway,* they were upon the Covenant syde. And there the Marquis of Huntley did ly in Aberdein till near the end of Appryll, desyreing the rest of the countrie to ryse and joyne with him. But they being blinded in the great work of the Covenant, wold not rise nor joyne with him, for at this tyme the Covenant wes so much respected that he might have spoken as weill against the scripture as against it. In the moneth of Apryll the Estates of Parliament (as they were called then) did raise ane great army in the south, the Marquis of Argyle being their Generall, with the Lord Burley the Earle of Lothian and ane regiment of men that came out of Falkland, who at that time were called Louthian Kers regiment and marching towards the north. The first salutation they gave they spoyled the Laird of Drum's hous,† with all his lands and tenements, religion being the cloak of all—for at this tyme the Laird of Drum younger had married ane daughter of the Marquis of Huntley's, being the Marquis of Argyle's sister's daughter, yet for all that nothing could content him bot he wold plunder, in caice that he wold not subscryve the Covenant. But Christ gave never his disciples such order to plant religion with pick and musquet. After this, in the beginning of May, Argyle came to Aberdein,

* Alexander Gordon, of Earlston, in Galloway, strenuously opposed in Parliament the measures of Charles I. for the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland; he was fined 500 marks for not conforming to the liturgy. He died in 1653.

† Sir Alexander Irvine, of Drum, was absent on the occasion of Argyle's hostile visit. Having permitted his wife and the household to withdraw, Argyle ordered the mansion to be wrecked, which was effected by Irish soldiers.—Spalding's "Troubles," ed. 1829, 406.

where all his forces did meit—to witt, the Fyffemen, Perth, Angus, and Mearnes men, and there he did hold his Comittees, and called in all the gentry and free holders of the north, and made them pay soundly for their standing out against the Covenant and the Estates, and for rysing with the Marquis of Huntley in the king's cause, and get caution they should not doe the lyke in tymes to come. Now all this tyme, good reader, thou shall understand that that Covenant, or rather the men for the Covenant, did alwayes quarter frie upon Aberdein, for the most part of Aberdein at this tyme wes against the Covenant, and were called Anti-Covenanters. Having ended their comittees upon Aberdein expenses, they marched north to Kellie in Buchan, the Laird of Haddo, Sir John Gordon, his dwelling, who at this tyme was keeping out his hous. Argyle and his forces laying ane seige to the castle, it was stoutly defendit. In the end they came to ane parley; the conditions wes that he should not ryse against the Covenant. The man being of ane stout spirit came out be perswasion of the Earle of Marshal, and some of the name of Forbes, his near kinsmen, was deceitfully betrayed, against all reason, and being taken prisoner after he had rendered, he was disarmed, and all his men, who with the most pairt of the specialls was conveyed to Aberdein with ane guard, and from thence to Edinburgh, where, in the month of Junij, this Sir John Gordon of Haddo, with ane Maxwell, Provost of Dumfreiss, for giving quartering to ane pairtie of Englishmen that was for the king, were both beheaded.* Our ministers at this tyme were Mr. Andrew Cant† and Mr. John

* Sir John Gordon capitulated unconditionally to the Marquis of Argyle on the 8th May, 1644. He was some time imprisoned in the western portion of St. Giles' cathedral, Edinburgh, and on the 19th July was beheaded with the instrument called "the Maiden."

† Mr. Andrew Cant was translated from Newbattle to Aberdeen in 1641. A zealous upholder of the Covenant, he energetically resisted those who were opposed to it. He incurred much personal hostility through a natural warmth of temper, which he was not careful to suppress. From his alleged insincerity, or whining manner, the term *cant* is said to be derived. He died in 1663.—"Fasti Eccl. Scot.," iii., 463.

Row,* who did still cry for blood and scaffold work. The Marquis of Huntley in the month of Apryll, as was befoir declared, lifted his small army when he went the length of Rothiemay,† and dismissed them; and he being so hardly persewed, was forced to take the sea in a boat and flee to Stranaver,‡ where he remained ane year and more. His eldest son at this time, who was called George Lord Gordon, did not countenance his father nor the king's pairtie, but withdrew himselfe out of his father's way, and was thought to be for the Covenant, bot was not for it, as shall be declared in tyme and place.§ This year the comittee men went through the countrie and made men subscryve bands called the Blind Band,‖ bot especiallie those that had bein for the king's pairtie. The exactors of these moneys wes W^m^ Earl Marshal, and that famous man the laird

* A learned divine, Mr. John Row, was successively schoolmaster of Kirkcaldy and master of the grammar school at Perth. In 1641 he was appointed one of the ministers of Aberdeen. Keenly attaching himself to the cause of the Covenanters, he incurred considerable odium, and was obliged to seek temporary refuge in the castle of Dunnottar. He subsequently joined the Independents. Latterly he became principal of King's College, Aberdeen; he died about the year 1672.—"Fasti Eccl. Scot.," iii., 471.

† A parish in the county of Banff.

‡ Strathnaver is a large and interesting valley in Sutherlandshire.

§ When, in 1643, his father and his younger brother, Lord Aboyne, stood out against the Covenant, Lord Gordon adhered to the Estates; in September, 1644, he joined Argyle, who was his mother's brother. He subsequently deserted the Covenanters, and attached himself to Montrose. He fell in the battle of Alford on the 2nd July, 1645.

‖ "A band [bond] devised by the Estates, commonly called the Blind Band, which every wealthy honest man within Edinburgh, or coming to Edinburgh, were urged to subscribe, and ordained by the estates to be subscribed through all Scotland, whereby ilk man was compelled to subscribe the samen, obliging him to contribute to the good cause such a certain sum of money equivalent to his estate, and to the contentment of these persons, the presenters of the Blind Band, and no otherwise, at such days and places as was therein contained."—Spalding's "History of the Troubles," ed. 1829, p. 379.

of Cragievar, with* the Lord Burley, who was at that tyme Governour of Aberdein† and of the north. The first of September, 1644, the battell of Tippermuir, fought betwixt the Marquis of Montrose and the Covenanters, where Montrose obtained the victorie, and killed of the Covenanters 1,500 men,‡ the most pairt of them being Fyfe men. The threteinth of September, 1644, the battell of Aberdein, foughten betwixt Montrose and the Covenanters, where Montrose obtained the victory, and killed of the Covenanters 520 men, and an 180 of Aberdein men. The leaders of the Covenant army wes the lord of Burley, Provost Lesley,§ the Lord Fraser,‖ the Master of Forbes,¶ Ludovick Gordon, son to the Marquis of Huntley,** the laird of Boyne,†† and the laird of Cragivar, that famous man.

About the end of October, 1644, the Marquis of Argyle, with the Earle of Louthian, came to Fyvie, and beleagured Montrose within the wood thereof, where there wes divers killed on Argyle's syde. Among these wes Alexander Keith, brother to the Earle Marshal. After this Montrose went to Strathbogie, and there wes diverse skirmishes. After that Montrose marcht from Strathbogie and went to Auchendoun, and from that to Badyenock, and from that to Atholl, and from Atholl he went to Argyll, where he keeped his winter quarters. Argyle seing he could get no advantage, left off his persute and returned to the south, for Argyle had

* Sir William Forbes, of Craigievar, was a vehement supporter of the Covenanters; but before his death he is said to have disapproved their proceedings, and to have formed a resolution of espousing the royal cause.

† Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

‡ The success of Montrose in this engagement was complete, for he vanquished his opponents without sustaining the loss of one man.

§ Sir Patrick Leslie, Provost of Aberdeen, was a zealous Covenanter.

‖ Andrew, second Lord Fraser.

¶ Alexander, Master of Forbes, afterwards tenth Lord Forbes.

** Ludovick or Lewis Gordon, second son of the second Marquis of Huntly, succeeded his father, in 1649, as third Marquis.

†† Ogilvie.

at this tyme in his army 1,500 horsemen and 5,000 footmen, besydes the countrie gentles where he marched through the countrie.

The 2nd Feberwarij, 1645, the battle of Inverlochie, foughten betuixt Montrose and Argyle, where Montrose obtained the victory, and killed to Argyll about 1,600 men, among whom wes the Laird of Auchinbreck, with many specialls of the name of Campbell—Argyle all the tyme being sitting in ane boat vpon the loch beholding the battell, where Thomas Ogilvie, son to the Earle of Airlie, was killed on Montrose's syde.

About the end of March, 1645, Colonell John Hurrie* surprized ane pairtie of Montrose's men lying in Aberdein where there wes but few slaine, but withall they spoylled the toun, where they got entres and murdered ane gallant man called Donald Ferquharson, of Menaltrie, the cheife of that clane.

The nynth of May, 1645, the battle of Auldern was foughten betuixt the Marquis of Montrose and Colonel John Hurrie, the Earle of Sutherland, the Earle of Seaforth, with all the gentry of Ross and Murray, with Colonel Hacket's regiment of horse, Louthian Kers regiment of foot, the laird of Buchan's regiment, with all the powers of Frasers, Rosses being about 8,000 men, Montrose pairtie not exceeding 3,000 men, where there was ane great slaughter on Colonel Hurrie his pairtie, and if the toun of Inverness had not bein fortified, few or none had escaped.

On the 2d July, 1645, the battle of Alford was foughten betuixt the Marquis of Montrose and General Major Baillie,† when Baillie lost the battell with ane great slaughter. The most pairt of the foot wes killed. Ther leader was brother to the Earle of Ca'silis, ane man of huge stature, the Lord of Balcarras being leader of the horse. On Montrose syde was killed Lord George Gordon, eldest son to the Marquis of

* The actual name of this leader of the Covenanting army was Urrie; it was called Hurrie by a corruption.

† General Major William Baillie was of the family of Baillie of Lamington.

Huntley, the Laird of Buchollie, the laird of Miltoune, of Keith, with some others of good qualitie.

The 15th of August, 1645, the battell of Kilsyth, foughten betuixt Montrose and all the nobilitie of the Covenanters, where Montrose obtained the victory, the Covenanters being about 12,000 men, but Montrose not exceiding 4,000 men.

The 13th day of September, 1645, the battell of Philiphaugh, foughten betuixt Montrose and David Lesley, Livetennant-General of the Scots Army in England, where he brought all the horse and dragouns of the Scots Army, and defeated Montrose. There wes great slaughter on both sydes, but especially on Lesley his syde; on Montrose side it wes after his men had rendered in battell, Lesley did put them all to the sword.

NOTE.—In a thin octavo volume entitled RELIQUIÆ ANTIQUÆ SCOTICÆ, edited by Mr. G. R. Kinloch, and printed at Edinburgh in 1848, are presented transcripts of five writs belonging to St. Anthony's Preceptory, of those emunerated in the Inventory at pp. 30-31.—*Reliquiæ*, pp. 33-46.

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